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1973 could well be China Year

Hannoversche Allgemeine

American foreign policy has demonstrated its desire to bring about a balance of power. David Bruce, the last of a great generation of US diplomats, has been sent by President Nixon to represent his country in Peking.

Treasury Secretary George Shultz, one of the President's most influential associates, recently toured Europe on monetary matters and discussed economic cooperation in Moscow.

President Nixon himself has talked in terms of visits to Western Europe, Latin America and Japan, with no set dates in mind but with the definite intention of doing the rounds before the end of this year if at all possible.

Washington continues to use the term "European year," a slogan conceived of by Henry Kissinger, who felt that in the wake of the President's visits to Moscow and *Peking* the North Atlantic pact needed to be re-emphasised and reactivated.

With so many economic problems in the offing in the West and political negotiations with the East a resuscitation of Nato appeared indispensable.

The administration is determined to stand by its commitment to retain US troops in Europe. In view of the proposed MBFR talks Democratic Senator Mike Mansfield was only able to secure his party's support for a resolution to cut back America's overseas troop commitments by making no reference to either specific targets or Europe.

The Federal government promptly responded by rejecting all unilateral cuts. Washington is a little nervous about the influence dollar devaluation and the continuing US balance-of-payments deficit might have on a Congress with which it is at loggerheads on a number of domestic issues.

All things considered, though, the agenda of US relations with Europe is being dealt with in a manner appropriate to mutual economic and alliance interests.

This may serve to indicate that relations are in fact sounder than at times has appeared to be the case.

A travelling President Nixon would not have much in the way of innovations to offer his allies. When he sets out on his travels is thus not unduly important. What matters is that when Chancellor Brandt is in America or President Nixon in Bonn, Paris and London cooperation can readily be reiterated and reactivated.

Views on developments regarding Moscow, Eastern Europe and Peking can also be compared and possibly brought into line.

So far the pace of developments between Washington and Peking has perhaps been the most significant trend this year. Last year Mr Nixon encountered cool hesitation as regards the new relationship. During Mr Kissinger's last visit to the Chinese capital this hesitation appeared to have given way to haste on China's part such as seemed likely to promote the exchange of high-ranking diplomats.

Speculation to the effect that the Chinese are afraid of a Soviet attack on their growing nuclear capacity and seek to discourage the Soviet Union by means of their new relationship with the United States has not been the subject of official comment.

No mention is made of Washington being interested in ensuring that China remains intact as a counterweight. The slightest indication of a Sino-American combination could have undesirable consequences in Moscow, consequences ominous for world peace.

The United States may not be supplying China with military aircraft and weapons technology but it is despatching David Bruce to the Chinese capital, a man whose reputation speaks volumes not only for Moscow but also for Peking.

Aged 75, Mr Bruce is a man suited for talks with Premier Chou En-lai and Chairman Mao Tse-tung, both of whom are much the same age.

Mr Bruce will be accompanied by Mr Holdridge, Henry Kissinger's Peking specialist, and Mr Kissinger's new deputy is General Snowcroft, who accompanied the President's national security adviser on his visit to Peking.

The links between the White House and Peking are thus close, and ties with Tokyo have also been relieved of the trouble into which they ran last year. There can be no overlooking the trouble Japan is currently taking over relations with China.

This welcome rapprochement on China's part holds the balance with Soviet interest in relations with America, in US grain deliveries, US technological and scientific cooperation and, last but not least, the avoidance of a one-sided inclination towards Peking on Washington's part.

Washington, on the other hand, has even greater need of the Soviet Union. In the Salt talks the United States would like to secure a better balance in terms of the number and explosive force of

Continued on page 2

President Gustav Heinemann (centre) was met by Italian President Giovanni Leone, when the Federal Republic President arrived at Rome airport on 21 March. The Mayor of Rome, Clelio Darida (left) welcomed President Heinemann to Rome when the party arrived at the Piazza Venezia. (Photo: AP)

President Heinemann visits Italy

President Heinemann has paid Italy a state visit and Bonn and Rome can claim to have much in common. Both have come to terms with a dubious past, have reconstructed, industrialised, Europeanised and concluded alliances with the Western world.

They currently have every good reason to discuss in a cordial manner major European problems of the future that their parliamentary democracies must jointly face.

In Bonn Italy is felt to be one of this country's most reliable political partners. There are no issues on which the two countries are at loggerheads, and Rome has never presented the slightest difficulty in the way of Bonn's delicate relations with the Eastern Bloc.

In recent years all Italian governments have lent Bonn's *Ostpolitik* support – with Vatican approval – and much of the groundwork for detente has been laid in Rome.

On the occasion of President Heinemann's state visit to Italy it is evident that longstanding cordial relations between Rome and Bonn have further improved in the wake of the November general election in this country and the conclusion of the Basic Treaty between Bonn and East Berlin.

Italy is relieved now that it no longer needs to take Bonn's requirements into account, a factor that at times has proved difficult for domestic reasons.

In political circles there is talk of virtually complete equanimity. The purpose of the state visit has thus mainly been to confirm and bear witness to foreign policy harmony.

Economic cooperation between the two countries has improved by leaps and bounds, an interesting change having taken place. Italy now successfully markets not only agricultural but also industrial products in this country. The tourist balance is, of course, particularly favourable from Italy's point of view.

In cultural terms the Goethe Institute in Rome has proved of great advantage in the discussion of intellectual basic values, being ideologically so unbiased.

The German School in Rome has assumed exemplary proportions in its contribution towards cosmopolitan thinking and international understanding.

Even so, there is still cause to ask whether, in the light of such favourable circumstances, psychological understanding between the two peoples has improved.

The answer cannot be an unqualified affirmative. Nationalist, Fascist and Nazi prejudice, the after-effects of stupid propaganda slogans, still stand in the way of a rapprochement in terms of human contact.

Yet Italy and this country are currently ideally placed for an attempt to deal with prejudice and mistaken judgements on both sides. Understanding could be further improved, particularly by means of the so-called mass media.

Following Gustav Heinemann's visit to Rome this is one of the most important tasks facing the two countries.

Gustav R. Hocke

(Frankfurter Neue Presse, 22 March 1973)

IN THIS ISSUE

■ FOREIGN AFFAIRS

Rumania stakes a claim to independence from the Kremlin

There are two main reasons for Rumanian misgivings about the policy of detente in Europe. On the one had Bucharest sees a danger of the Soviet Union coming to be accepted by the West as the spokesman for and representative of the interests of the peoples of Europe, which would perpetuate (for the foreseeable future at least) the division of Europe into spheres of influence.

In the years to come the inevitable result would be an intensification of the Soviet claim to a right to a say in the domestic affairs of socialist countries such as Rumania that have so far been able to steer clear of Soviet occupation and direct control.

In addition to this long-term anxiety there is a more topical fear of the perceptible ideological hardening process currently under way in the entire socialist camp.

The intention behind the current hard line is to provide a preventive shield against Western endeavours to bring about a relaxation of tension that might conceivably be detrimental to socialist cohesion and is certainly considered by Moscow to represent a genuine threat of ideological infiltration.

This being the case, it is easy to see why Rumania's representatives consider any agreement on European security that is not reached unanimously to be ineffective. Bucharest neither wants to continue to have to cling to the apron-strings of a great power nor feels inclined to have to approve of a peace settlement that is superficially in the interests of security but in effect further tightens the great powers' stranglehold on small countries.

This mistrust was reiterated in even more forthright terms than in the past by Rumanian head of state and Party leader Nicolae Ceausescu in an address to his central committee in Bucharest on 3 March. In this speech he refused point-blank to sign any document approved by the MBFR talks in Vienna.

In his article on the fundamental principles of Rumanian foreign policy published on 19 November 1972 in *Le Monde*, Paris, Rumanian Premier Ion Ghearghe Maurer termed "direct cooperation between all countries an indispensable prerequisite for general progress" and "an objective and vital condition of coexistence between the nations of Europe."

Alongside the great powers smaller and medium-sized countries had of late been called on to ensure security and peace. Their mission M. Maurer considered to represent a "triumph for relations based on equal rights and mutual advantage."

Comments such as these characterise the strategy Rumania has adopted at the European security conference-preliminaries in Helsinki — and testify to the theoretical foundations on which it is based. In Bucharest it is now noted with some degree of pride that Rumania's "fundamental" foreign policy concept is beginning to bear fruit.

The idiosyncracy of Rumania's foreign policy procedure of evolving a prototype for future relations between countries all over the world consists of the drawing-up of a catalogue of clearly defined international legal principles that is reiterated in each and every diplomatic document, leading article and Party operation on foreign policy.

These principles of international law are all taken from generally accepted declarations to which practical importance is seldom attached, such as the UN Charter. They are both legal and moral in nature.

Frankfurter Allgemeine

They stress national integrity, the right to freedom from violence and the necessity of coexistence between all peoples "on the basis of complete equality, regard for national independence and sovereignty, non-intervention in the domestic affairs of other countries, mutual advantage and renunciation of the use of threat of force," to quote the foreign policy resolution passed by the Rumanian party conference in July 1972.

A school of conceptual thought and logical activity has been envolved from these moral principles. It is based first and foremost on the evaluation of each and every declaration and foreign policy document the Soviet Union has signed since its establishment.

The aim is to impress Soviet commitments in the world at large, the temporary nature of the emotion- and sensation-laden international public responses to Soviet intervention in Hungary and Czechoslovakia in 1956 and 1968 respectively having proved of no value.

At the same time the great powers are to be morally obliged to stand by these principles they themselves have acknowledged even though they may run contrary to their great-power interests at a given moment in time.

The policy pursued by Rumania is designed to increase gradually the country's autonomy in relations with the Big Brother. Realistically enough, no attempt is being made to part company completely with the Soviet Union.

The initial short-term target is to bring about the final proscription of the Brezhnev Doctrine of employing tanks and parachute brigades to "settle ideological differences." This is why such importance is attached to a ban on the threat of violence.

In this context, accompanied as it is by growing diplomatic pressure by the Soviet Union, Rumania is taking pains to emphasise the purely defensive character of the Warsaw Pact.

It is self-evident that the Rumanian call in Helsinki for the immediate abolition of military pacts in Europe will take some time to implement. Until such time as it is abolished in the wake of a general European peace settlement its sole purpose, Bucharest maintains, is to serve as a mutual aid agreement between socialist states in Europe in the event of attack from without or within or in Europe.

There is no intention of participating in a possible military venture against China and Rumania does not believe that an attack will be launched by the West either.

Bucharest adamantly refuses to countenance the secondary effect of the Warsaw Pact that runs counter to the terms of the alliance but has continually been emphasised by the Soviet Union in recent years — the permanent threat of policy actions by the Soviet Communist Party in conjunction with other Parties and armed forces against individual scapegoats.

This point has been made by First Secretary Ceausescu on several occasions in no uncertain terms.

Remarkably enough, the section of Rumanian Premier Maurer's *Le Monde* article on the occasion of the Helsinki talks that deals with Rumania's obligations towards fraternal socialist states makes mention of Comecon, the mutual economic aid agreement, but does not, even in passing, refer to the Warsaw Pact.

Mention is, on the other hand, made in general terms of what is termed the anachronistic phenomenon of military blocs that are increasingly coming to be a cause of scorn and suspicion and an obstacle to rapprochement and understanding between nations.

To gain some idea of the extent of the conflict that continues to accumulate between Moscow and Bucharest the latest definition of the function and purpose of the Warsaw Pact made by the Soviet Union must be borne in mind.

This definition more or less coincided with the latest Warsaw Pact general staff manoeuvres in Rumania, held from 12 to 21 February. On 23 February Soviet General Yepishev, the political supremo who in May 1968 stated that the Red Army was ready to do its revolutionary duty in Czechoslovakia, made the following comment in Moscow:

"Internationalist policy in the military sector finds expression in the Warsaw Pact, which stands guarantor for revolutionary achievements of coun[tries] that belong to it."

Rumania's third target in a polic[y] continuous extrication from the clai[m] the Soviet Union and the socialist ca[mp] associated with Bucharest's prod[...] efforts to boost economic develop[ment].

In future Rumania wants to be ab[le to] decide for itself the nature and exte[nt of] its economic development, itself choo[sing] such foreign assistance as it consi[ders] necessary and organising its foreign t[rade] more along lines Bucharest feels t[o be] economically meaningful.

This does not, for that matter, [mean] that Rumania has ambitions to with[draw] from Comecon, but Bucharest does [wish] to adhere strictly to the terms of [the] Comecon agreement, which expre[ssly] states that membership is voluntary [and] most be to the mutual advantage of [both] sides and of the organisation as a wh[ole].

Andreas Razumovsk[y]

(Frankfurter Allgemeine Ze[itung] für Deutschland, 21 March 1[973])

British government's White Paper on Northern Ireland

White papers are usually unspectacular documents outlining, for the purpose of discussion, proposed future government policy on a particular issue.

The White Paper on the future of Northern Ireland published in London on 20 March was another matter altogether. Police checks and searches and days of secrecy made it clear that political dynamite was in the offing.

Ireland awaited publication of the 34-page HMSO booklet as though it were the sentence passed after a protracted trial on the oucome of which depended the life or death of the defendants.

For Ireland as a historic unit its fate for decades to come was at stake. For both Catholics and Protestants in Northern Ireland even more was at stake: the province's economic survival.

In a situation in which economic, historical and denominational differnence have given rise to deep-seated hostility a solution to which cannot be found overnight the only forecast that can be made with any certainty is that whatever proposals are made no one will be completely satisfied.

The Protestants have gained a little, but not much. They are to remain a part of the United Kingdom but their unbounden powers are a thing of the past.

The Catholics too have registered gains — guarantees — and participation in government — but, again, by no means everything. By and large, in comparison with the previous state of affairs, the Catholics have won — even though the target of a united Ireland remains a faint and distant hope.

Yet a united Ireland is a romantic idea. In reality two hostile communities must, some time and somehow, whether it be in a united Ireland, within the UK or in an independent Northern Ireland, manage to live together in peace.

(Frankfurter Rundschau, 21 March 1973)

China Year

Continued from page 1

missiles than was negotiated in the [...] interim agreement.

And in the MBFR talks Washi[ngton] cannot countenance equal cuts in [...] of man-or firepower, as mi[...] imbalance would ensue. Washington [...] expects the Soviet Union to refrain [from] stirring up the Middle East co[nflict] which is currently ticking over, an[d to] keep its distance in the event of cri[sis in] Yugoslavia in the wake of the dem[ise of] Marshal Tito.

Economically, Washington would [like] to find a buyer for its agricu[ltural] surpluses and is prepared to [offer] economic and technological coope[ration] in return. This was the subje[ct of] Treasury Secretary Shultz's missio[n to] Moscow.

The Soviet Union is expected to [be] recalcitrant on the subject of [e]migrants in order to overcome obs[tacles] that might be placed in the way of [the] trade and credit agreement Mo[scow] demands by a combination of anti-S[oviet] and pro-Jewish sentiment in the Senate.

Soviet Party leader Leonid Brezh[nev is] preparing to visit Washington.

Washington can no longer rule [the] world and no longer intends to try [to] police it. But as long as Moscow [and] Peking are neither at peace nor at [war] Washington's international political p[osi]tion is ideal. President Nixon and [Dr] Kissinger are well aware of the fact [and] utilising it with a will.

So far this year the policies they [have] pursued have been universally succes[sful]. It remains to be seen whether 1973 [will] go down in history as a "European ye[ar]". It could equally well turn out to [have] been a China year.

Hans B. Meye[r]

(Hannoversche Allgemeine, 26 March [1973])

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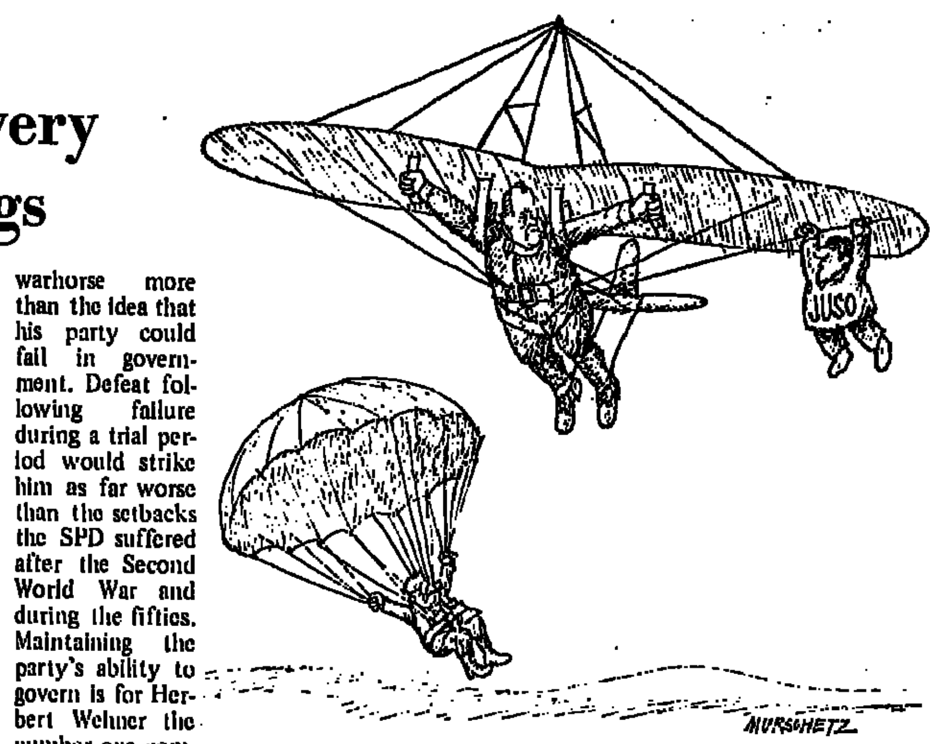
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■ MEN IN THE NEWS

Herbert Wehner will still be very much at the centre of things



(Cartoon: Murschetz/Die Zeit)

Now the Social Democratic Party is also bothered with leadership problems. Willy Brandt's thundering statement that he cannot accept responsibility for the Party's action if the SPD veers away from the programme on which it won the general election last November, and Herbert Wehner's statement that he proposes to withdraw from the position of deputy party chairman have startled friend and foe of the SPD alike.

Even more startling than the Chancellor's rhetorical outburst was Herbert Wehner's sudden statement. Even Chancellor Brandt was surprised by that.

Herbert Wehner is not making things easy for those who would interpret his actions. There has been many an occasion when he steered the party on to the right course and showed matters up in the correct light — without ever hogging the limelight himself. And so even his closest party colleagues are puzzled about what has moved him to give up part of his responsibility for the SPD.

Was it not Herbert Wehner who, on the day following the last election, when there was no longer any doubt that the SPD had become the strongest parliamentary party for the first time in the history of the Federal Republic and the SPD/FDP coalition had an impregnable majority, declared triumphantly that he had been fighting 23 years for this victory?

Now just a short four months later, at the moment when he sees the dangers of the SPD falling foul of battles over the direction to be taken and thus losing the fruits of its victory he has stated laconically that he will not longer put up for the office of deputy party chairman — for personal reasons.

Of course Herbert Wehner is 66 years old and bears the scars of remorseless battles. Furthermore he is a sick man. He has truly earned the recreation of which he has been talking for some years now.

Without doubt it is also true to say that the office of chairman of the parliamentary party does not leave him much time for party work. But what difference will it make if North-Rhine Westphalia Premier Heinz Kühn, himself 61, takes over from Wehner.

Of course Kühn did a lot of work towards bringing about the SPD/FDP coalition in Bonn and he is noted for the gift of the gab, but up till now he has not earned a reputation as a great party organiser nor has he ever been regarded as an ideological fixed-star in the Party.

It is doubtful whether there is any other politician in this country who is more independent of the authority of office than Herbert Wehner. Thus partial renunciation of such authority does not free him from political responsibility. If the signs are not deceptive his word will carry more weight in future rather than less. By demonstrating that he no longer strives for power Wehner's statements take on the significance of testaments. He will be freer in his relationships with Willy Brandt, and above all freer to defend his life's work: making the SPD capable of governing.

This life's work is a part of party history which he has helped to mould. He has helped take the SPD from the hopeless years of the fifties when they seemed doomed to permanent opposition, the days when a majority of people in this country believed that the SPD should not be trusted with running the country, to 1973 when people are convinced that the SPD is the leading political force in the country.

Through these years Herbert Wehner has gone through many tactical changes of course. He is not numbered among those historical greats of whom Jacob Burckhardt once spoke, those men who, when their time has come, naturally assume responsibility.

In his time Herbert Wehner has suffered. He adjusted to the needs of the moment unselfishly. And in so doing to the needs of the moment unselfishly. And in so doing he often pushed the party as far is it would go. He lived and learned, learning particularly what political pragmatism can be: not obsequious adjustment to prevailing opinions in order to be accepted, but often gritting one's teeth and taking stock of the realities for greater political effect.

This pragmatism — and it is this basic requirement of any party that is to be capable of governing the country that is viewed by Wehner today as being in jeopardy, threatened by the irresponsible way the left-wing of the party deals with the realities of the day: the Western alliance, public awareness, economic requirements and the future of the coalition government.

The question of the coalition — and in this respect Herbert Wehner is no different from Willy Brandt in his views — is the acid test of how aware the SPD is of the realities.

Herbert Wehner sees this quite clearly. He said: "The development of the FDP depends largely on the ability of the SPD to form a coalition with it and the way the SPD puts this ability into practice. When I come to the conclusion that there must be a set of rules for putting the coalition into practice effectively what I mean to say is that we must make it difficult for forces in the smaller coalition partner that are not keen on an alliance with the SPD striking up contacts with the CDU and fostering these".

This is a warning to the SPD from Wehner. And behind this warning there is the worry that the SPD will overestimate its 1972 victory not only politically but also with regard to a section of its supporters and will scare away the coalition partner that it may still need after the next general election, with the FDP scampering over to the CDU side.

Thus Wehner is just as concerned as Brandt in providing the bases for a government led by the Social Democrats up to and beyond the next general elections. Nothing terrifies the old SPD warhorse more than the idea that his party could fail in government. Defeat following failure during a trial period would strike him as far worse than the setbacks the SPD suffered after the Second World War and during the fifties. Maintaining the party's ability to govern is for Herbert Wehner the number one commandment. Can it then he said that Herbert Wehner only wants power for the SPD so that the party can adjust to circumstances whatever its true aims are? The accusations levelled against himby conservative commentators are not just taken at random. They say that the only difference between Wehner and the extreme left of the party is his greater tactical capability and his skill at drawing a veil over the party's true aims. His present policies, they accuse, are basically nothing more than a continuation of perversion of the Bad Godesberg programme.

Of course Herbert Wehner is a Socialist and of course he does not pretend to be satisfied with the injustices in our society. But he is a Bad Godesberg Socialist — and he has never left any doubt about this.

He understands the SPD as being an amalgam of various ideas and beliefs and he insists that the SPD does not promote any monopoly idea for its members and for the party as a whole. Kurt Schumacher also issued a stern warning against this, saying that it would be the death of freedom. And this is an opinion that Herbert Wehner has said he will share for as long as he is politically vocal.

This demarcation line between the SPD and the dogmatic, radical form of Socialism is once again of decisive importance for the party. The Bad Godesberg debates must be repeated again today — with the New Left. The burning question for the SPD and for German democracy is: will the SPD remain a party of moderation?

When he worked on the Bad Godesberg programme Herbert Wehner was not thinking primarily of the ability of the party to govern — it was for him a step towards reconciling the working classes to the State, a renunciation of the revolutionary concept of class warfare.

Wehner and other SPD leaders are of the opinion that this country can be made more humane and just by slow and patient reforms. He does not share the creed of the radical left that it is impossible to reform the capitalist system. Nor has he ever paid lip service to the idea of reforms that will subvert the system. Here too he has drawn up a demarcation line separating himself from the radicals. He rejects the panaceas of subversionists as being contemptuous of human intelligence. He has made a plea for patience and moderation, taking into account just how much people will take.

Wehner's statement that at the party-political conference in Hanover he will not put up as a candidate for the post of party chairman is, we can be sure, not a withdrawal from politics. Wehner does not intend to jump out at a moment when the SPD is about to decide what course it is to steer in the future.

"I am right at the heart of these conflicts," he said, "and am trying to help the party."

Nor was Willy Brandt looking for an escape route last weekend when he told the party that he "could not accept responsibility for something that contradicted ideas that he himself stood for and that were supported by a broad cross-section of the electorate." Wehner's move and Brandt's warnong are not symptoms of resignation but battle cries.

These battle cries have already had an effect. That central group of the SPD that could be decisive on many points in Hanover has been stirred into life by Wehner and Brandt's thundering and many left-wingers now fear that the party political conference will fall short of many of their expectations. At any rate Hanover will not be the scene of a triumphant victory of the left.

But the action taken by Brandt and Wehner is not without dangers. A few rousing statements do not make up for years of shortcomings in party activities. The left wing may for the time being have been stopped in its tracks by powerful words from the party leadership, but the problem will not be solved until the party has really got to grips with these conflicts and hammered them out.

In this conflict it is inevitable that Herbert Wehner will at one and the same time be a combattant and mentor. Just as in Bad Godesberg he filled his debating with the bitter experiences he had been through with Communism in Hanover he will be able to go over the hard times he has known steering the SPD towards governmental responsibility.

Rolf Zundel

(Die Zeit, 23 March 1973)

Chancellor Willy Brandt with SPD deputy leader Herbert Wehner (Photo: dpa)

RELIGIOUS AFFAIRS

EKD must introduce reforms to meet the future

Hannoversche Allgemeine

The Synod of the Evangelical Church (EKD) allowed time when it commissioned the statutes committee to draw up a new constitution for the EKD at its meeting in Stuttgart in May 1970.

But it did not allow itself enough rope. Consultations have been intensive as the existence of a third rough draft demonstrates but the final decision must be left to the new synod being constituted in Coburg in May as the legislative period of the former synod ended in January.

Time will tell whether the new synod will feel itself bound by the preliminary decisions of its forerunner. Whatever the case, it can already be assumed that the new constitution will not take effect until 1975 at the earliest.

When the synod first decided to take this step one that had been repeatedly demanded by individual members in the past, East Berlin's policy of division was at its height.

The eight member Churches of the EKD operating in the German Democratic Republic were forced to leave the then 28-member EKD and set up an autonomous "Federation of Evangelical Churches in the GDR".

Circumstances led relatively quickly to a new constitution for the Churches in the German Democratic Republic. But the process has proved far more tedious in the Federal Republic.

When the current EKD constitution was drawn up in 1948, the legacy of mediaeval particularism could not be overcome for denominational and theological reasons.

It was clear from the very outset that this state of affairs clouded both the efficiency and the credibility of Protestantism in this country and the constitution drawn up in Eisenach was considered as no more than provisional.

The twenty Churches remaining within the EKD all support the aim of the move to strengthen the EKD theologically and in law and to grant it such powers that it can better fulfil community obligations incumbent upon it.

But the natural urge of self-preservation found within existing ecclesiastical administrations led to delaying tactics that were evident from the very beginning.

The need for reforms was approved in principle but new obstacles were raised time and again. This is not due to the fact that aims are unrealistically high. Not even the most unworldly representatives have dreamed of replacing the current loose federation by a strictly centralised united Church. It has never been disputed that the EKD should remain a group of Churches with a pronounced federal character.

Critics of the current reform proposals such as Bishop Dietzfelbinger of Munich claim that the reformers have been too ambitious. Instead of adopting a step-by-step plan that would first reform administration and then re-organise ecumenical services before converting the Church federation into a Church community or even one Church, the statutes committee claimed that the time was ripe for a new overall concept.

There may be doubts as to whether the committee's tactics were as skilful as they could have been, but its decision is understandable. In an age of ecumenical activities the denominational particularism in this country has long been an anachronism.

The committee received backing for its decision when the draft for a union of Reformist Churches in Europe was put forward in September 1971. The draft stated that the varying beliefs arising from the Reformation no longer had a divisive effect and the Churches in question had entered into a spirit of cooperation.

As far as the position of the Churches in this country is concerned, this suggests that the central problem for which no solution was found in 1948 – the question of communion – could now be incorporated into the constitution.

As much as the term "Church community" represents a sop to those members who fear too much central power – the individual Churches remain autonomous though enter into a number of commitments – there is still a good deal of mistrust towards reform.

But doubts now seem to stem from theological politics and not from questions of theology alone. A number of member-Churches such as those in Bavaria and Baden-Württemberg claim with some concern that the EKD is becoming more and more a platform of political and theological controversy.

Well-known theologists and laymen have gathered around Helmut Gollwitzer to underline the political elements in Karl Barth's theology and some Churches fear they will have to back decisions they cannot accept theologically or ecclesiastically. The discussion of the antiracialism programme in the EKD synod is quoted as one example of many.

Another factor proving an obstacle to unity is the decrease in the number of active churchgoers the further north one goes in the Federal Republic. Sceptics believe that compromise will only be possible on the basis of the lowest common denominator and that the "healthier" Churches will be weakened as a result.

But all members know at heart that their relations to each other must be reorganised. Their realisation that nearly all the problems and duties facing Churches today are the same throughout the country forces them to accept an administrative reform which will enable the most efficient use possible of available clergy and financial means. in dealing with the growing number of joint tasks.

Ludwig Harms

(Hannoversche Allgemeine, 7 March 1973)



Dr Philip Potter with Bishop Dietzfelbinger

(Photo

Munich bishop meet ecumenical leade

Hermann Dietzfelbinger, the B. of Munich and head of Evangelical Church council, met Dr P Potter, the Jamaican Methodist General Secretary of the World Co. of Churches, in Munich on 13 March.

The first meeting between newly-elected representative of ecumenical movement and the l. representative of Protestantism i. country seems to be of great signifi. This was underlined when B. Dietzfelbinger invited Dr Potter Bavarian synod which was then in s.

Relations between the World C. of Churches and its member Ch. especially the Bavarian Lutherans, ed. their nadir recently after conference in Bangkok.

The main blame must be given inadequate information issued by quarters in Geneva which enco. claims that the World Counc. Churches was selling the Christia. down the river or at least reducing significance until it became no mor. an international social redevelo. programme. The new general sec. evidently sees it as his personal d. clear up existing misunderstandings.

This country's Churches are amo. ecumenical council's richest m. Churches now that the Americans reducing their financial contributions.

But during discussions with B. Dietzfelbinger and before the synod Munich Dr Potter stated categor. that the World Council of Churches interested above all in the theolo. contribution to be made by Ger. Protestantism.

But this is one of the reasons for current crisis. The opposition to ecumenical anti-racialist programme pressed above all by official Luther. circles in Bavaria and the criticisms of Bangkok Conference voiced by Pie. this country are based on theolo. considerations. To clear up difficulties, Dr Potter and his hos. two discussions lasting several hours.

The new ecumenical beginning be aimed at will only succeed if conta. between the World Council of Church. and its member Churches are extended frank exchange of opinions between Potter and the synod could ha. contributed towards the demand "intensification of community".

But Bishop Dietzfelbinger evidently not think the time ripe for discuss. Demands made by synod members discussion of this type were so form. that the World Council of Churches be prompted to pay more attention Church synods in future, perhaps sending representatives.

Claus-Jürgen Roepke

(Süddeutsche Zeitung, 14 March 1973)

Catholic bishops and their dilemma with the GDR

Talks between Catholic bishops and senior members of the Socialist Unity Party (SED) recently took place in various parts of the German Democratic Republic.

ADN, the East Berlin news agency, claimed they dealt with the "essential conditions for the future form of relations between the State and the Catholic Church".

Informed sources claim that these talks were linked with a possible move by the Vatican to find a new solution for the four episcopal commissariats in the German Democratic Republic that are still under the jurisdiction of West and South German dioceses. The Vatican's awaited decision is also the source of lively discussion in Church circles in the Federal Republic.

The official agenda at the recent Episcopal Conference in Bad Honnef did not touch upon the dilemma faced by Catholic bishops in the Federal Republic, though it dealt with the tricky question of relations between the Vatican and the German Democratic Republic.

Church publications, the Springer publication *Die Welt* and the *Rheinische Merkur*, a newspaper close to the Christian Democrats, had dwelt so much on the subject immediately before the conference that it could hardly be ignored.

The Episcopal Conference hastened to deny the existence of any major differences or serious conflict between the Vatican and bishops in the Federal Republic.

The GDR's diplomatic offensive began in August 1972 when Prime Minister Willi Stoph received Cardinal Bengsch, the head of the Berlin Ordinaries Conference which comprises the bishops and episcopal commissioners of the Catholic bishoprics and commissions in the GDR.

Stoph told the bishops that the State would like an autonomous national Catholic Church corresponding to the Protestant Church in the GDR. At the same time the GDR government sent a note to this effect to the Vatican.

Up to now some 750,000 Catholics living in the episcopal districts of Schwerin, Magdeburg, Erfurt, Meiningen and a number of smaller dioceses have been under the formal jurisdiction of the Bishops of Osnabrück, Paderborn, Fulda, Würzburg and Hildesheim. But in practice the episcopal commissioners acted independently of their bishops in the Federal Republic.

The issue became the subject of greater attention recently when Monsignore Casaroli, the Pope's "Foreign Minister", met Herr Lambertz, a leading member of the SED, in Rome.

There also appears to be mutual interest in diplomatic relations at the moment – even before the Basic Treaty between the two Germanies is concluded. A papal nuncio would certainly go a long way to meeting East Berlin's desire for full recognition and equality.

The Vatican on the other hand believes

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POLITICS

The new team at the Chancellor's office

DIE ZEIT

"The less heard of the Chancellor's Office the better," Horst Grabert, its head, is often heard to say. If this is true, things must be bad at present as the Chancellor's Office is making as much news as during its most agitated days under Horst Ehmke.

The news does not suggest that all is harmonious. Sand has got into the works and it does not appear as if the Chancellor's Office will for the present assume the role intended for it in the administrative changes following the election victory last November.

After the Chancellor's Office received the blame for the muddle caused by the decision to reimburse Berlin citizens for the visa fees they had to pay to travel in the German Democratic Republic and the subsequent promise that payments would continue as before, observers asked whether this was due to the Office's basic shortcomings or whether it was merely the result of teething troubles.

It is ironic that *Spiegel* of all magazines looks back nostalgically to the days when Horst Ehmke headed the Chancellor's Office. This periodical's persistent criticism of Ehmke's brash style was one of the factors that prompted Chancellor Brandt to reorganise the department and thus keep it out of the headlines.

As only two months have passed since a three-man directorate took over the Chancellor's Office it is still too early to say whether Brandt was right or not. A fault in the starter is not necessarily a reflection on the overall quality of a motor-car.

But more friction is to be expected within a three-man team. The Chancellor's Office has been given clear organisation but a certain boldness cannot be denied in the structure, the distribution of powers and the choice of staff.

Horst Grabert, a Berliner who is a newcomer to Bonn, is at the top of the hierarchy. Though Horst Ehmke was a minister, Grabert is only a State Secretary like his predecessors in the Konrad Adenauer era.

Grabert's deputy is a minister without portfolio, Egon Bahr who is as close a confidant of the Chancellor as Ludger Westrick once was with Ludwig Erhard.

The third man in the team is Karl Ravens, a Parliamentary State Secretary with political talent and strong support within the SPD Bundestag group to which he has belonged for the past twelve years.

All three politicians shun exaggerated publicity. They are also similar in their introverted nature which is more suited to Willy Brandt's inward-looking personality that cannot tolerate extremely dynamic figures like Horst Ehmke in the long run.

Another advantage is that their abilities and inclinations do not overlap. Bahr is an expert on foreign policy and inter-German relations, Ravens specialises on domestic affairs and Grabert is a good administrator.

The three men also have good personal contacts with one another. Grabert is one of Egon Bahr's discoveries, Grabert and Ravens have known each other for years. It is only between Ravens and Bahr that ties are not so close.

In these circumstances it was easy to distribute powers. Grabert is at the head of administration, which now forms a more important part of the department than in the past. Even documents concerned with foreign policy, external security and inter-German relations reach Grabert's desk before they are handed on to Egon Bahr. In the past they went first to Bahr and then to Minister Ehmke. This was not due to any special position of confidence enjoyed by Egon Bahr. Under Ehmke, Bahr was a State Secretary and this was to a certain extent part of his duties, As far as official channels are concerned, the State Secretary always come before the Minister.



Egon Bahr, Chancellor Brandt, Horst Grabert and Karl Ravens

(Photo: J. H. Darchinger)

But Bahr himself is now a Minister and documents first go to the State Secretary working "under" him. Egon Bahr retains his responsibility for foreign policy, external security and inter-German relations while Ravens is responsible for coordination.

The difficulties in the Chancellor's office do not arise from the distribution of powers but from the persons themselves and their political weight.

On closer examination it will be found that there is no real expert on domestic policy within the Chancellor's Office. The Chancellor himself does not like domestic policy, the head of the department still has to discover his talents in the sector, the Minister without Portfolio is looked upon by many as a genius in one field only and though the Parliamentary State Secretary has influence and reputation within the party he is no wizard on domestic policy and social welfare.

With staff like this the Chancellor's Office cannot be the organisation that Grabert would like it to be. The present Chancellor's Office will neither inspire nor guide domestic policy in the broadest sense of the term though it is domestic policy that is to stand in the focal point of future work after the three years from 1969 to 1972 were dominated by foreign policy.

But the Chancellor's Office will still retain direct influence on the conception and initiation of foreign policy and policies concerned with Eastern Europe and Germany as a whole.

It is in this sector that the Chancellor's Office might manage to coordinate policy. But in view of the permanent rivalry between the Chancellor's Office and the Foreign Office there are already grounds to doubt whether a high degree of cooperation is possible.

But where domestic policy is concerned the Chancellor's Office will not be able to encourage cooperation between the various ministries as the necessary impetus is lacking and the Chancellor himself will only perform his functions of leadership in this sector to a limited extent. . .

But it is this that is vital, despite a largely-fixed policy and despite all agreements reached within the coalition. There is after all still enough scope for decision making.

The planning department employs 90 of the 390 staff at the Chancellor's Office and their work would indeed be of little use if their medium-term and long-term plans were not translated into political aims.

More than smooth administration is required to combine the aims of the various ministries and persuade them to take the same political course. Tactics alone are not enough either, nor is the ability to press the Council of Elders inconspicuously for dates and agendas favourable to the government. What is needed is political weight.

The longing for a strong man which can be heard here and there probably arises from the fear that the Chancellor's Office could degenerate into an administrative apparatus which no longer coordinates the ministries and provides them with the necessary information but acts merely at the beck and call of the various ministers.

It is no coincidence that under Ehmke there were often clashes between the Chancellor's Office and powerful political figures such as Helmut Schmidt and Karl Schiller. Personal animosity was not the sole reason. There was also a head-on collision of political principles.

Clashes of this type can impede work, but they can also stimulate. The re-organised Chancellor's Office will certainly not inspire anyone. Horst Grabert will never have to answer the charge that he is pursuing personal political ambitions, a charge that was repeatedly made where Horst Ehmke was concerned, however absurd it may have been. But neither will Grabert prove such an obstacle as Ehmke.

Grabert's selflessness could be of advantage when it comes to taking objective decisions. But in cases of conflict farsighted politicians are more easily swayed by political than objective criteria. Helmut Schmidt is a good example and that is why he tends to dismiss the Chancellor's Office as a mere chancellery.

Grabert's lack of political authority also prompts him to contact Brandt more frequently and at an earlier stage than his predecessors, which does not exactly take any of the burden off the Chancellor's shoulders.

The shortcomings within the Chancellor's office became evident in the last two currency crises. Department IV responsible for finance, economic affairs and social welfare is still without a head despite its importance. Karl Otto Pöhl, its previous head, is now State Secretary to Helmut Schmidt.

Grabert is not too worried – perhaps because a solution is in sight and Reinhard Barholomaei of the Labour Ministry is in line for the post – though this is no isolated case but a symptom. During the crises the Chancellor had to depend almost entirely on Helmut Schmidt's knowledge. He had nobody to rely on within the Chancellor's Office.

In view of the structural weaknesses of the Chancellor's Office muddles such as the one over the visa fees are trifling. No authority is completely proof against mistakes of this kind. There were blunders under Horst Ehmke and under all his predecessors, including Hans Globke.

But when mistakes were made, they were more than made up for through outstanding political accomplishments. That cannot be expected today. Horst Grabert's philosophy about quietness being a mark of quality could easily be proved wrong. Quietness can also mean political abstinence and this is certainly not the purpose of the Chancellor's Office.

Eduard Neumaier

(Die Zeit, 16 March 1973)

Continued from page 4

it will be in a better negotiating position if the Church's first legate to a Communist State is to be found, in all places, in the capital of the German Democratic Republic. The Papal politicians' main concern is for the wellbeing of Catholics and the improvement of their position in the Communist world.

This pragmatic pioneer work has aroused the wrath of CDU politicians who remember that the Vatican reorganised the structure of the Church in the Oder-Neisse area immediately after the conclusion of the Bonn-Warsaw Treaty, with the positive effect this had on the success of government Ostpolitik.

As late as 8 March the CDU press service warned the Vatican's diplomats against cutting links between Christians in the two parts of Germany. The CDU evidently fears for political reasons that it will once again be steamrollered by the Vatican's concern for its flock.

Catholics in the Federal Republic are thus torn between their concern for those of their faith in Eastern Europe and considerations of domestic policy. They know they will only be able to stand firm for a short period. What makes their position more difficult is that the government too will show understanding for the Vatican's decision.

Peter Hertel

(Frankfurter Rundschau, 16 March 1973)

■ CURRENCY CRISIS

Floating temporarily is a necessary evil

Europe has made its decisions on what must be done to ward off the flood of hot dollars pumped in by speculators. From 19 March the Federal Republic, France, Denmark, Belgium, Luxembourg and The Netherlands have been floating their currencies jointly. Bonn is upping the parity of the Mark by three per cent so as to blunt any further dollar speculation within the bloc of six floating currencies.

Following the decisions taken by the Council of Ministers of the EEC in Brussels people in this country would like three questions answered:

1. When can we expect the next currency crisis?
2. Has not this been a defeat for Europe?
3. Are we not waving goodbye to the good old currency system without being clear in our minds what the new one is to be?

No one can blame West Germans for timidly asking how long before there is another currency upheaval, following the bitter experiences of the past two years.

They have watched the periods of peace between grow shorter and shorter. On each occasion the curative properties of the medicines prescribed have been praised to the skies. Nevertheless the patient, money, has proved to be ever more susceptible to the next bacillus that came along.

For eight and a half years, from March 1961 to October 1969 it cost four Marks to buy a dollar. The revaluation of the Mark in the autumn of 1969 put the price down to 3.66 Marks. That price level lasted for a couple of years.

Then in December 1971 the values of the Western world's most important currencies were re-appraised, that of the dollar included. Only 3 Marks and 22 Pfennigs were needed to buy a dollar. This rate lasted for just thirteen months. When the United States devalued on 12 February the price for a dollar went down to 2.90 Marks. It took only a further seventeen days for a further weakening of the dollar to close the currency exchanges.

With the sure knowledge that markets were closed and no further damage could be done senior ministers held a series of conferences, and in the early hours of 12 March they announced their decision. Six countries would bind their currencies together like the threads in a rope. Their exchange rates against the dollar will move together.

A tolerable three-per-cent revaluation of the Mark was the price this country had to pay to make France participate. The other three Community countries, Britain, Eire and Italy, did not join the group floating. On the other hand Austria will probably follow the Community line in revaluing the schilling. Likewise Sweden and Norway with their currencies. All other major currencies have been floating for a long time anyway.

This is the end of fixed parities to which currency policymakers have adhered faithfully for so long. According to the book this should be the end of runs on the dollar. In other words there is not likely to be another flood of hot dollars into this country. The Bundesbank will save money and – from this source at least – the amount of money in circulation in the Federal Republic will not be further inflated. As a result prices should not rise as steeply as they have been.

Whether this desirable situation will actually come about depends on how international financiers appraise the dollar. If they are convinced that the American dollar is on the road to recovery the newly built dams will hold the flood tide – and many wise observers prophesy blooming health for the dollar in the medium term.

But if lack of confidence in the dollar persists the next currency crisis cannot be far off.

It is this danger that makes politicians hesitate to break down foreign exchange controls at the time when the joint floating is just beginning. What the Americans have to offer the Europeans in Paris by way of their contribution to the healing of the dollar weakness will be a major factor with regard to future confidence in the dollar.

As far as we can tell the Americans want to cover up with cosmetics. With the re-opening of the currency exchange markets on 19 March the world has a chance to learn what judgment these incorruptible judges will pass on the dollar.

Were the decisions taken in Brussels a defeat for Europe? Of course it would have been better for European unity if all nine EEC members had decided to take the same action the six plumped for. This communal hedge against the flood of dollars would have been the first step toward the proposed European economic and monetary union.

But this would have been a mere facade, of European currency unity and would have been paid for at a high price. If weak monies such as the lira and sterling joined in floating those countries with a strong currency would have had to dig deep in their pockets to pay for the weaknesses in the setup.

A country that supports an ailing currency inflates its own, and creates the conditions in which the inflation bacillus thrives.

The present six-strong floating in Europe is better for stability than an all-out monetary union, and it is no good weeping for this lost opportunity of creating a purely European solution while an objective appraisal will confirm that Europe is still not economically mature enough for a higher degree of integration.

Britain, Eire and Italy's hesitation about joining in is proof of this. This group of six could be the hard core of a future monetary union. Let us just be thankful that France has joined in.

The Brussels meeting certainly marked the beginning of the end of the old monetary setup, dating back to 1944 to the Bretton Woods agreement.

This was built on five pillars:

1. Gold was the joint yardstick for measuring the external values of currencies. This was made possible by the clever plan of making the official price of gold as expressed in dollars the basis of the whole system.
2. Gold was an international means of payment. It played this role till August 1971, because the US treasury had promised to buy gold from other central banks and sell it back to them at the official price. President Nixon unilaterally took the dollar off the gold standard in 1971. There are no signs yet of the Americans' being able to return to it.
3. Currency reserves in all countries were held first and foremost in gold. In the course of time foreign exchange took on an increasingly important role as reserves, with the dollar to the forefront. That the dollar became a standard currency results from the unrivalled position of the United States in world trade, but also from another factor in our currency setup – fixed parities.
4. Fixed parities mean that the buying and selling prices of currencies on international exchanges do not fluctuate from day to day according to the state of the market, that is to say supply and demand. Banks of issue were obliged to take action whenever the exchange rate for a certain currency fell below a specified level. They had to buy up the weak currency with their own tender. Since the dollar has become the weakest currency in recent years European central banks, and in particular the Bundesbak, have been flooded with dollars.
5. The currency system began to show signs of crumbling as more and more thousands of millions of dollars toured the exchanges of the Western world. Like an old car the system had to go in for repairs more and more frequently. The garage in question was the Club of Ten, the richest trading nations in the Western world, working in close cooperation.

Two of the pillars on which the system was supported have collapsed – fixed parities and the gold standard. The former was rattled by a series of currency crises. And the role of gold in the setup changed when Nixon ended its link with the dollar. We are indeed bidding goodbye to the old banger, though there is no agreement on which new car we should buy.

In the transitional period we shall be able to travel along quite smoothly on the floating-currency bandwagon. It will bridge the gap without proving detrimental to international payments.

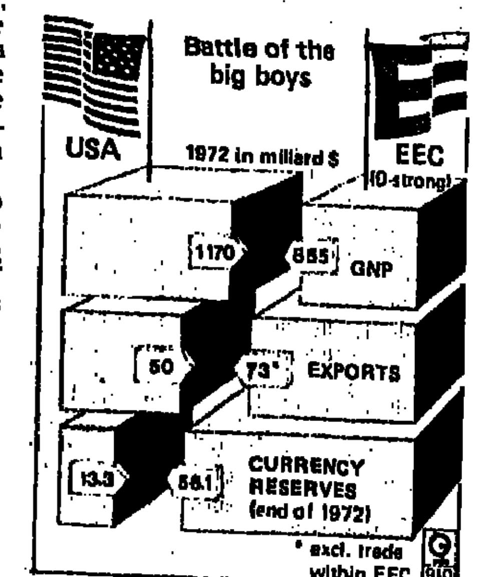
Whether wholesale floating can be kept up as a solution to the currency problem over a long period only a trial period will tell. There is much to be said in favour of floating, though economic practicioners in many countries think it introduces an element of instability into world trade, which international businessmen cannot afford.

In reality far more damage is done under the system of fixed parities when there is a sudden drastic alteration to exchange rates.

For the time being we have no choice. Western governments will have to rely on floating until the day politicians are able to restore people's confidence in money.

Rudolf Herlt

(Die Zeit, 16 March 1973)



Reserves up

Currency reserves in this country increased in the first week of March by a further 7,400 million Marks to reach a record level of 88,200 million Marks net. This was largely due to the intervention of the Bundesbank, Frankfurt, on foreign exchange markets on 1 March.

(Nordwest Zeitung, 13 March 1973)

Special drawing rights – the new reserves

On 17 March the three-p[er-cent] revaluation of the Mark cam[e into] effect. From this point on the p[arity] of the Mark will not be express[ed in] dollars but in special drawing rights.

This pre-empting of a reform of world currency system helps to unde[rline] that the reserves of the past, dollars [and] gold, are both losing in importance, special drawing rights taking over [their] function.

Special drawing rights were first cr[eated] in 1969. They are intended [to] supplement the reserves already [in] existence – gold, foreign exchang[e and] credit with the International Mo[netary] Fund IMF.

Many experts feel that special dr[awing] rights have an advantage in that they [can] be created as necessary, namely: world trade does not have to wait f[or the] right amount of gold to become av[ailable] or for American economic policies [to be] propitious.

"Gold from the test-tube", as s[pecial] drawing rights are often nicknamed, [are in] nature comparable to a banknote. [The] value of special drawing rights, like [that] of money, depends on whether the[y are] universally acceptable as payment. [But] unlike banknotes and gold this medium of currency reserves o[nly] operates in traffic between banks of [issue] and the IMF.

If a country is no longer able to [meet] payments due in gold or foreign ex[change] it can obtain foreign exchange fr[om a] partner country by means of s[pecial] drawing rights. But government[s know] there are barriers. For according [to IMF] statutes, over a five year perio[d the] average degree of utilisation of s[pecial] drawing rights is not to exceed seven[ty per] cent.

Special drawing rights have ga[ined] importance alongside gold and doll[ars as] currency reserve at a faster rate th[an] expected. One of the decisive facto[rs was] the decision in Washington in A[ugust] 1971 to take the dollar off the [gold] standard. The latest moves from [...] only serve to underline once aga[in the] direction that will be taken by refor[m of] the international currency system.

(Die Welt, 16 March [1973])

Inflation – the forgotten menace

The currency crisis and attempts [...] general bewilderment to overcom[e it] have been keeping economic p[olicy] makers so preoccupied that an[other] development has been allowed to pro[ceed] with scarcely any attention being pa[id to] it, even though it is almost as big a th[reat].

The rate of price increases has b[een] speeding up to such an extent that [it is] now almost impossible for the ra[te of] inflation this year to be kept even [at the] level of 1972. Instead of the 5.5 p[er cent] increase in prices, which Bo[nn is] expecting, it could be that at the e[nd of] the year consumers will be pa[ying] something like seven per cent more.

At the Frankfurt Spring Fair and at [other] fairs in progress at the time of writing: Munich (building machinery), Colo[gne] (household equipment and ironmong[ery]) and Düsseldorf (ladies' outer garmen[ts]) price increases of something like ten [per] cent on average have been announced and buyers have gone on happily b[uying] and buying. They obviously are confi[dent] that they can sell these items to [the] public for correspondingly higher pr[ices].

Of every ten consumers nine [are] wage-earners or salaried. Most of [them] have received handsome pay rises, [but] inflation has eaten away at these. Late[st]

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■ BUSINESS

Taxation – 54 varieties

This country's taxman has 54 ways of taking his due from the taypayer. This puts the Federal Republic in about an average position in the EEC. Luxembourg, Belgium and The Netherlands have 33, 34 and 35 kinds of tax respectively, but France has 71 and the Italians have dreamed up the most ways of obtaining revenue with 81 taxes. For instance there is a special tax on espresso coffee machines! Despite this the overall burden of taxation is lowest in Italy.

Bonn's Community Liaison Bureau recently reported that this plethora of differing taxes is an obstacle in the way of the planned European Economic and Monetary Union. Competitiveness is influenced detrimentally and always has been.

The introduction of value added tax and the abolition of these numerous piffling taxes – the latter albeit only in the planning stage so far – will lead to greater unity in taxation. The next step would then be a rapprochement of the tax levels applying.

The Community Statistics Bureau has discovered that in the original six EEC countries the burden of taxation is highest in The Netherlands and lowest in Italy. This does not calculate on absolute figures, but reckons taxation in percentages of the economic power of the country.

In 1971 – the latest year for which figures are available – revenue in The Netherlands was 26.7 per cent of the gross domestic product at market prices.

In The Netherlands there have also been the greatest price increases since 1965. The country with the second largest tax burden was Belgium, where the figure was 24.9 per cent of GNP. Next came (in 1971) the Federal Republic with 23.8 per cent, Luxembourg with 22, France with 20.9 and Italy with only 18.6 per cent.

Statistics also show which countries turned the tax screw hardest between 1965 and 1971. France cut her tax burden by 1.8 per cent. Luxembourg's remained constant. In Italy and this country there were only fractional changes. But the Dutch upped their tax burden by three per cent and the Belgians by as much as 3.8 per cent.

Nor do the EEC countries agree on where the main emphasis of taxation should be laid. The Federal Republic and Benelux have for a long time relied heavily on high, direct income taxes. The three new members, Britain, Denmark and Eire do likewise. In Italy and France direct taxation plays a minor role.

The French and Italians beckon their taxpayers via the indirect taxation of production and trade. In France in 1971 seventy-one point four per cent of revenue came from taxes on production, and import duties, with only 27.7 per cent coming from income and property taxes.

Siegfried Michel

(Bremer Nachrichten, 8 March 1973)

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developments make it seem quite likely that white and blue-collar workers will need to put in another claim before the year is out if their real earnings are not to be cut. Prices seem bound to rise more rapidly than incomes, especially when this year's higher taxation is taken into account.

By the autumn the domestic policy scene is likely to be in turmoil. But another round of pay rises would only push prices up higher. In truth this is just the old question of who gets how much of the cake, the cake in this case being the goods and services available. If this conflict is carried out according to the rules that have been applied up till now there will be no winners, only losers. The biggest loser will as usual be the little man.

Are we prepared to watch this state of affairs go on and on without doing anything? Are politicians in Bonn already resigned to it? If so there will be a few losers there as well!

(Frankfurter Rundschau, 13 March 1973)

Arab trade up

Exports to Arab countries from the Federal Republic have been boosted considerably in the past two years. The volume of exports increased from 2,200 million Marks to 2,900 million. Thus it was possible to cut back the deficit in trade with Arabia to 3,200 million, as imports were cut at the same time by 6.9 per cent to 6,000 million Marks. Ninety per cent of these imports are oil.

(Die Welt, 12 March 1973)

Thrifty citizens

Since 1960 the wealth of private households in the Federal Republic has quadrupled. The total increase was from 135 milliard to 560 milliard Marks. Furthermore, according to the Institute for Economic Research (DIW) the yield on capital invested by the private citizen has increased from 4,600 million Marks in 1961 to 29,500 million now.

In its weekly report DIW, based in Berlin, states that savings accounts are still far and away the most popular investment for the small man, with more than forty per cent of total investments.

About three-quarters of non self-employed workers have taken advantage of the "624-Mark scheme" to encourage the small saver by means of tax concessions on deposits. About ten per cent of private savings go into building societies.

As far as high-yield savings are concerned fixed-interest bonds are the most popular. DIW say that these bonds have increased their share from five per cent in 1960 to twelve per cent of savings last year.

The stock market has lost much of its attraction for the small investor because of the many dropping share prices. Shares have dropped from 34 per cent to 13.5 per cent of the savings market.

(Die Welt, 15 March 1973)

Land values increased

Between 1950 and 1970 the total value of land in the Federal Republic increased by 650,000 million Marks, according to Bonn Housing Minister Hans-Jochen Vogel in an article published in a Social Democratic Party (SPD) press release.

The bill for what Herr Vogel called the "effortless profits made by a few people" has so far been footed by tenants, building society savers and taxpayers. Realistic reforms are the only way of bringing about effective changes, the Minister claims.

The measures most urgently needed are, in his view, the projected amendments to the Federal Housing Act, a capital gains tax on land and the introduction of a new form of property ownership entitling the owner, for want of a better word, merely to the use of the land in question.

(Neue Hannoversche, 8 March 1973)

Retail shops down – sales staff up

In the nine years from 1961 to 1970 the number of retail shops in this country dropped by 91,000 – 15.3 per cent – to 506,599. But the number of people employed in retail trade increased by 108,000 – five per cent – to 2,282,000, according to the census taken in 1970.

The census was organised by the study group of retail traders. These figures underline the importance of retail trade in the overall economy. Every fifth place of work in the Federal Republic is part of the retail trade and one person in every eleven works in retailing.

With fewer shops and more workers the average staffing of retail concerns rose in the nine-year period from 3.6 to 4.5. Most of the shops that put up their shutters for the last time were "corner shops" with no more than four people behind the counter. The number of little shops dropped by 47,000 or sixteen per cent.

More than a half of the shops that shut were run by only one person. All other types of shop are increasing in number, particularly those employing between ten and fifty people. But even today the greatest number of those working in the retail trade are in a shop employing between one and nine people.

The number of part-time workers in the retail trade increased in these nine years by a massive 71 per cent from 214,000 to 366,000. Now sixteen per cent (9.8 % in 1961) of shop staff are part-time. The number of full-time shop staff has decreased from 1,960,000 to 1,910,000. There is a far greater proportion of women workers in the retail trade than in other branches, but in the nine years to 1970 this proportion dropped from 62.2 to 60.6 per cent.

Of the shops that went out of business the greatest number sold foodstuffs and sweets. At 230,000 there were 27 per cent fewer in 1970. They employed 675,000 people, about thirteen per cent fewer than in 1961.

The cutback was particularly marked in the case of shops selling vegetables, milk, fish and sweets – from 74,000 to 42,600.

There was an eleven per cent drop in the number of clothing shops in existence, the 1970 total being about 81,000.

There has been a steady growth in large shops selling diverse wares, supermarkets, chain stores and mail-order houses. The number of such places of work increased by 22 per cent to 4,600. The number of people they employ was up by 59 per cent at 312,000. In companies with more than 500 staff 167,000 people were employed in all. In these major retailers too the part-time worker – 22 per cent – has a significant role to play.

Major increases were recorded in these nine years in chemists (up 21 per cent), car salesrooms (47 per cent), florists (46), home decorating suppliers (47) and pet shops (58 per cent up).

(Die Welt, 5 March 1973)

Temps for hire

Approximately 2,000 bureaux are in operation in this country for employing temporary staff, including almost 200 within the sphere of the Lower Saxony and Bremen Labour Office, according to figures released by the Brunswick Landeskirche in connection with its campaign: "Better Protection for Temporary Workers".

The talks centred round the problem of how loaned workers – foreigners and Germans alike – could in future be protected from the machinations of unscrupulous firms.

Georg Sandmann from the Bonn Ministry of Labour, who is responsible for this sector, reported on the initial workings of the new legislation which has been in operation since mid-December. This regulates the hiring out of hands in the Federal Republic and provides stiff penalties for abuses.

For breaches of regulations fines up to a maximum of 30,000 Marks can be imposed. Severe infringements of the new law – especially the illegal trafficking in foreign workers – can lead to a fine of up to 100,000 Marks or a year's imprisonment.

(Die Welt, 10 March 1973)

Living costs 6.8% up

The cost of living for private households went up by 0.7 per cent from mid-January to mid-February this year, according to the Federal Statistics Office. Taking the 1962 living costs as 100 the figure for mid-February this year was 144.3. This represents an increase of 6.8 per cent on February 1972.

In January this year and December 1972 the cost of living was up each time by 6.5 per cent as compared with the corresponding month a year before.

The index of retail prices in February was 128.7 (100 in 1962), 0.6 per cent higher than in January, and 5.8 per cent higher than twelve months previously.

(Handelsblatt, 15 March 1973)

Development aid

Federal Republic public development aid projects in 1972 did not reach a satisfactory level, judging by the estimates so far available, according to the Minister for Economic Cooperation, Erhard Eppler.

Eppler told the press that overall aid had remained at about the same level as in 1971, but when compared with the gross national product there was a drop from 0.34 per cent in 1971 to 0.30 per cent last year.

Among the reasons for this decline in aid to the Third World was the belated ratification of the 1972 budget, which meant that part of the 2,430 million Marks earmarked for development aid – bilateral capital aid and technical assistance – could not be donated.

(Die Welt, 2 March 1973)

Prices hit exports

Higher prices in the Federal Republic have hit this country's exports to neighbouring Belgium and Luxembourg – France is cashing in. According to statistics issued in Brussels on foreign trade last year the Federal Republic is still the main exporter to these countries with goods worth 165 milliard Belgian francs (about 15,000 million Marks), but with its more stable prices France was able to boost its exports to these countries by 18.7 per cent and push The Netherlands into third place. Our exports to Belgium increased by only 4.7 per cent.

(Handelsblatt, 5 March 1973)

■ MARITIME AFFAIRS

Otto Hahn sets sail again after 200 days in dock

WELT am SONNTAG

When the *Otto Hahn*, Europe's solitary nuclear merchantman, sets sail from Hamburg after 200 days in dock, many of the hopes placed in it will have been dashed.

There now seems to be little doubt that a sister vessel will not be built in the foreseeable future. The shipping lines it was hoped might include a pilot nuclear freighter in their next generation of container vessels are not interested.

This lack of interest has been confirmed by Dr Norbert Henke of Hamburg, chairman of the Association of Federal Republic Shipbuilders, who simply commented that "no agreements have been reached on the construction of a nuclear freighter."

A pilot project is not in the offing, then, and this is rather surprising since the size and power of freighters lately commissioned for delivery between 1975 and 1977 are such that nuclear power ought, in their case, to be competitive.

Of late a fair number of tankers of between 380,000 and 700,000 tons with engines developing 45,000 horse power and more have been commissioned.

For years nuclear shipping enthusiasts in this country and the United States have considered nuclear power to be feasible for tankers from 35,000 horse power upwards. Yet not a single shipping company or oil firm has expressed interest in powering a supertanker by nuclear reactor.

The *Osaka Bay*, the last of a series of large container vessels built by the Hamburg HDW yard, recently embarked on three-day trials in the North Sea. At 80,000 horse power this is precisely the category of vessel nuclear shipping pundits in this country, America and Japan have in mind.

Both GKSS of Geesthacht, near Hamburg, (the initials stand for Atomic Energy Utilisation in Shipbuilding and Shipping Ltd) and its Japanese opposite numbers are convinced that a nuclear-powered container vessel developing 80,000 horse power is in a position to compete with conventionally-powered vessels of the same size and power.

A joint working party including GKSS, Hapag-Lloyd and Vulkan-Werft of Bremen from this country concluded last year that "a nuclear container vessel developing 80,000 horse power costs more to build than a conventionally-powered freighter, but this is offset by lower running costs, particularly fuel."

By and large the conclusions reached by the working party were rated positive and encouraging. But the response of shipowners and builders was hesitant in the extreme.

Container vessels of the size considered by GKSS to be ideal are built in this country only by Hapag-Lloyd. At company head offices in Hamburg work is already in progress on the fourth generation of container freighters.

This generation consists of vessels that will be commissioned in the mid-seventies for delivery towards the end of the decade. These "freighters of the future" are what GKSS, an enterprise that has ninety per cent of its financial backing from the Federal government and the remainder from the state administrations, is banking on.

Hapag-Lloyd's answer is a negative expressed in no uncertain terms. In an interview with *Welt am Sonntag* managing director Werner Traber stated categorically that "the risk per shipping unit is too great."

Hapag-Lloyd are equally unenthusastic about the other potential means of propulsion of the future, the gas turbine.

It is not so much the higher construction costs that worry the successors of Albert Ballin of Hapag They, Traber says, could conceivably be met. The risk consists of a considerable number of unsolved questions that confront the potential owners of nuclear merchantmen.

There are as yet no legal provisions regarding insurance.

Time-wasting application procedures must be undertaken before nuclear freighters are allowed to enter a port.

The question of responsibility in the event of an accident remains inordinately complicated.

Experience gained with the 16,000-ton *Otto Hahn*, which is run as an ore freighter by GKSS, has indicated t[hat] right of berthing and liability are fra[ught] with difficulties.

The term "risk" also applies to substantial investment in up-t[o-the-] minute container cruisers by shipo[wners]. Hapag-Lloyd and the British and Jap[anese] lines in the Far East consortium [have] already invested 2,700 million Ma[rks in] the seventeen largest container ves[sels in] the world.

These seventeen ships are to ply [the] seven seas according to a pr[ecise] timetable worked out by the opera[tors]. They will be in trouble the moment a single ship has to be withdrawn f[rom] service, there being no replacem[ent] available for chartering.

Incidentally, the last of the Hapag-Lloyd giants destined for the [Far] Eastern run is the *Tokyo Express*, b[uilt] by Blohm + Voss, which is to be ta[ken] into service in April.

This country's fourth nuclear dev[elop]ment programme has failed for the [time] being to induce shipowners to emba[rk on] nuclear ventures.

Allocations towards this programme [in] the 1973/74 financial year have a[lready] been made. It provides for a [grant] towards the construction of a n[uclear] vessel and government financial ba[cking] including guarantees should the [nuclear] vessel need to be withdrawn from se[rvice] and thus fail to earn its keep.

The risk of equipping such large expensive vessels with nuclear propu[lsion] is evidently too great for shipowners [who] have to keep an eye on their profits [and] losses. A warning finger is pointed at experience gained by United St[ates] operators. It is an open secret at all p[orts] between Hamburg and New York th[at] Americans would like to cut their [losses] and sell their three 120,000-horse[-power] container liners built in Emden.

These three vessels were the first

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■ HOUSING

Optimism at building trades fair

Technological progress determines the shape of things to come in building machinery. New techniques make the industry more competitive, improve export prospects, counteract price increases, boost rationalisation and compel both manufacturers and customers to invest.

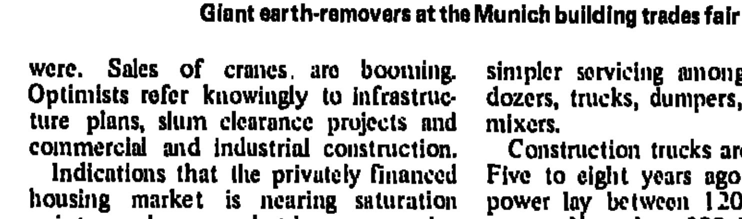
In the wake of two years of recession and a partial decline in turnover domestic manufacturers have high hopes of a perceptible sales increase this year.

Last year the total of construction and building materials machinery manufactured in this country reached a level of 4,200 million Marks, including 1,200 million Marks worth of exports as against 700 million Marks worth of imported machinery.

At the international building machinery fair in Munich 906 exhibitors from 21 countries, including 715 from the Federal Republic, showed that increased productivity is due largely to the progress achieved in engineering.

Over the past six years turnover per employee has increased by seventy per cent in this country even though the man-hours worked have declined by twelve per cent. Engineers and designers are evidently paying greater attention to the man on the job.

Machinery and equipment designed for building construction are sunning themselves in the economic upswing, as it were. Sales of cranes are booming. Optimists refer knowingly to infrastructure plans, slum clearance projects and commercial and industrial construction.



Giant earth-removers at the Munich building trades fair

(Photo: dpa)

Indications that the privately financed housing market is nearing saturation point sound a somewhat less encouraging note, though, and the economic aims of the Federal government, not to mention cuts in public spending, render a more precise forecast somewhat difficult.

On roadbuilding and public works the trade sounds cool, calm and collected. Sceptics are taking in terms of stagnation again, but all things considered the construction industry on the quiet expects an increase in turnover in real terms in this sector. That is to say, turnover is expected to outstrip the decline in purchasing power.

And as regards prices, the manufacturers talk in terms of increases of between four and ten per cent. Since 38 per cent of construction machinery is exported, the industry is more than a little alarmed at the prospect of further uncertainty over exchange-rates, revaluations, devaluations, floating and the like.

It is clear from the Munich trade fair that machinery tends to grow more powerful. The load capacity of cranes on the market has registered a startling increase.

The premieres included that of a 500-ton mobile crane with a 162-metre (531ft 6 in jib). There can be no mistaking the trend towards larger and faster engines, increased horse power and simpler servicing among hydraulic bulldozers, trucks, dumpers, road-layers and mixers.

Construction trucks are a case in point. Five to eight years ago their maximum power lay between 120 and 200 horse power. Nowadays 300 horse power are nothing out of the ordinary.

Among commercial vehicles the best-sellers are 300-hp-plus trucks with individual-wheel drive and pneumatic suspension. Bucket seats, headrests and acoustic signals from the dashboard convey some idea of the degree of comfort. It is rumoured that excavator trucks will shortly be equipped with stereo radio.

In addition to rationalisation attention is being paid to winter working, international standardisation of building materials and machinery and the development of environmentally unobjectionable equipment.

The aim is to cut back the amount of noise and vibration produced and eliminate dust. Soundproofed compressors that make less noise than the legal maximum are already on the market.

To date contractors have failed to jump at the offer of the latest in soundproofing and the like. Environmental protection involves cost increases of between ten and twenty per cent.

Local authorities, particularly health resorts and hospitals, will have to pave the way by insisting on soundproofing and being prepared to pay the extra.

(Kieler Nachrichten, 15 March 1973)

Continued from page 8

freighters in the world to be powered by gas turbines.

The US nuclear lobby would also like to see nuclear-powered container vessels built. Apparently orders for a further three 120,000-horse-power ships are to be placed some time this year.

According to a cost estimate published by Babcock & Wilcox a 120,000-horse-power nuclear ship costs a million dollars less per year to run than a conventionally-powered vessel.

Sixteen million dollars a year rather than seventeen million is all well and good, but shipowners evidently calculate their costs rather differently than manufacturers of nuclear reactors do.

The first nuclear merchantman to be built was the American *Savannah*, which dates back to the fifties. It has never carried either cargo or passengers and has been in dock for many years.

The next country to follow suit was the Federal Republic with the *Otto Hahn* of Hamburg, which has spent its initial supply of fuel over a period of four years and has just been "recharged."

Japan is about to take its first nuclear freighter, the *Mutsu*, into service, but it is not as yet allowed to take to the high seas, coral fishermen having lodged protests on account of the environmental threat to Japan's home waters.

In addition to these and the *Otto Hahn* the Soviet icebreaker *Lenin*, also nuclear-powered, has patrolled the North-Sea passage between Siberia and the Arctic for the past few years.

The only country to gain any real experience with nuclear merchantmen is the Federal Republic with the *Otto Hahn*. Britain and America, on the other hand, have gained experience with more than a hundred warships ranging from nuclear submarines and missile-equipped destroyers such as the *USS Bainbridge* to the *USS Enterprise* aircraft carrier.

Gustav Seesener

(Welt am Sonntag, 11 March 1973)

Building costs expected to increase more than 6 %

Stable prices are an unlikely prospect in the foreseeable future and progressive inflation and its repercussions are jeopardising the system of the social, free-market economy, according to August Hackert, the president of an industrial organisation, in his forecast for the current year.

The probable increase in prices in the construction industry over the year would, he said, be an average of six and a half per cent. This forecast is based on the following assumptions:
— an increase of 12.9 per cent on the wages bill.
— an increase in overall costs of 10.3 per cent.
— an increase in productivity of 3.8 per cent.

Hackert stated that the prospects for the various sectors of the building trade varied. In view of the number of projects in the pipeline for which local authority permission has already been granted housing construction seemed likely to fare reasonably well.

A more sceptical view was current as regarded the prospects for commercial, industrial and local authority building and roadbuilding and public works.

(Neue Hannoversche, 14 March 1973)

Prefabricated housing costs could be cut

Prefabricated housing units could be built at prices fifteen per cent lower than at present if only mass-produced components were best utilised.

Erhard Knechtel, head of the economics division of the Construction Industry Association, noted in Munich that few sectors of industry have registered such rapid growth in recent years as prefabricated housing.

Small runs and too much regard for individual requirements were making the finished product unnecessarily expensive, though, he added.

According to Knechtel nearly 11,000 million Marks worth of prefabricated construction was planned in this country in 1972. This represented an increase of nearly forty per cent over the year before.

One new detached house in nine and seven per cent of all apartments were built with the aid of prefabricated sections.

(Neue Hannoversche, 24 February 1973)

City housing prices get cheaper

Large and expensive apartments in a number of cities in the Federal Republic are being offered for sale or rent at cut prices, the cost of construction having risen so meteorically that buyers are not forthcoming at the prices originally asked.

Price cuts are in evidence in Cologne, Frankfurt, Munich and Hamburg. In Cologne several hundred de luxe apartments have failed to find tenants and both private and company landlords have already slashed the rents asked by up to two Marks per square metre.

In Munich *Neue Heimat* the trade-union owned housing corporation, is having trouble in finding tenants for its new property and has reduced the rent demanded for 151 new flats in the suburb of Haar by an average of 75 pfennigs to some 6.85 Marks per square metre.

City authorities feel that this is the beginning of a development that will at long last lead to the provision of inexpensive apartments. It is further hoped that the local authority housing bureaux, set up in competition with private estate agents, will contribute towards this development.

For some months a deep-seated change in the housing situation has been in evidence in Munich, where Oberbürgermeister Georg Kronawitter recently announced that some 9,000 new apartments — the number built in a year — were currently unable to find either a tenant or buyer.

Estate agents in Munich talk in terms of some 16,000 empty apartments, including older housing that is difficult to let. Another category that proves difficult from the estate agent's point of view is the tied-rent local authority-financed apartment built between 1950 and 1955. There are 35,000 of them, mostly without either a bathroom or central heating, and an increasing number of them are being left by the present tenants.

Most tenants leave old property because of the lack of mod. cons. As regards privately financed and local authority new housing, tenants and buyers appear to be few and far between because the market has been saturated in respect of this category and price range.

Major contractors are already advertising in the local press offering between three and five per cent in rebate on the purchase price of "remaindered" apartments, taking care to add that as wage and materials costs continue to increase the present prices will have to increase sooner or later.

Burgomaster Kronawitter has sounded a warning note against creating tomorrow's housing problems today. Consideration would, he felt, have to be given to whether there is any point in continuing to build miniature apartments for profit reasons.

He also wondered whether new estates should continue to be built on the outskirts of the city. An alternative would be to spend the money on modernising older housing on the outskirts of the city centre.

Karl Stankiewitz/Annelie Stankau

(Kölner Stadt-Anzeiger, 10 March 1973)



■ OPERA

The Rolf Liebermann era at Hamburg comes to an end

Pierre Boulez once quipped that Rolf Liebermann, the composer of *School for Wives* and for the past fourteen years director-general of the Hamburg State Opera, only composes through other people and claimed besides that he has no more than an average bourgeois taste.

These are hard words for a man who, whatever his taste, is generally considered as progressive and had to fight to get his views accepted by a bourgeois and traditionalist public when he took over at Hamburg in 1959.

Since then as many as twenty-one operas have been given their premiere at the Hamburg State Opera. A twenty-second is to follow. According to Boulez, they could all have been secretly written by Liebermann.

Liebermann had to find a solution to what was generally described as the opera crisis. The most elegant solution was without doubt to blow up all opera houses but he found this proposal neither the most practicable nor the most progressive.

Admittedly, the term "opera crisis" is more than a cliché. If opera really is the genre most representing bourgeois society, the crisis of this society automatically leads to a crisis in this genre. But this idea has entered people's minds with such force that no proof of its validity has been demanded.

Boulez' suggestion that no opera worth the name has been composed since Alban Berg's *Wozzeck* and *Lulu* forty years ago should not however be rejected outright and neither should Theodor W. Adorno's claim that *Rosenkavalier* was the last opera to achieve far-reaching success.

"Glossing over the true state of affairs and consoling oneself with the idea that audiences will gradually accustom themselves to modern works is no more than self-deception," Kurt Honolka wrote in 1964.

He backed up his claim with attendance figures from the early sixties. Orff's *Die Kluge* was the most-played modern opera in the Federal Republic with 82 performances.

But *Die Kluge* only reached 42nd place in the list of most-played operas of all time. Mozart's *Seraglio* was top with 430 productions. The seventy performances of operas by Berg were far outweighed by the two thousand or so of Verdi works.

Compared with the overwhelming popularity of Classical composers such as Mozart, Verdi, Wagner and Puccini, the 132 performances of the various operas by Carl Orff, a relatively simple, pedantic and accessible composer, appear absolutely pitiful.

The situation is little better today. Modern operas may have made up more than one quarter of Hamburg State Opera's repertoire between 1959 and 1973 but more than ninety per cent of all performances were the old established works.

Fourteen of the twenty-one world premieres at the State Opera were not retained in the repertoire for more than two years while the old productions of *Fidelio, Der Freischutz, Don Giovanni, Lohengrin* and *Il Trovatore* have run for twelve or more years.

Only four of the new operas were performed more than fifteen times. Ten new works were performed only four to eight times, including operas by established modern composers such as Blacher, Krenek and Penderecki.

Liebermann always adopted the role of a pragmatist in his work at Hamburg State Opera. He wanted to test public reaction to modern music instead of surrendering without a struggle.

He commissioned more than twenty operas in his fourteen years there. Audiences were presented with a new work at least once a year and only the extremely malicious would try to distinguish between artistic conviction, good intentions and the desire for publicity.

Liebermann did indeed force up the shares of modern music, to use Boulez' expression, but were they unbacked shares, artistic forgeries. Today, at the end of the Liebermann Era, we are perhaps in a better position to judge the current value of these shares.

When Liebermann took over at Hamburg State Opera in 1959 he asked how contemporary operas could be brought into the repertoire and retained on the Opera's programme.

He decided this could be done by means of a consistent policy of commissioning operas and building up an opera ensemble capable of singing and interpreting modern music.

"I would like to point out that all works composed since *Rosenkavalier* can only be brought into the repertoire if the ensemble is good enough," he commented at the time.

Liebermann has achieved the two goals he set himself. His company is without equal when it comes to contemporary works and his policy of commissioning operas was based on his belief that it was not the job of a director-general to impose his own taste. Instead, he should inform the public of the various styles and tendencies of contemporary opera.'

Indeed, the 21 works premiered in Hamburg cannot be reduced to any common denominator and if Boulez is correct in claiming that Liebermann only composes through other composers today then he must admit that Liebermann is both imaginative and ultra-versatile.

The older generation of composers in this country was represented in Hamburg by Boris Blacher and his *Zwischenfälle bei einer Notlandung* (Incidents during a Forced Landing).

The younger generation was represented by Hans Werner Henze and his *Prinz von Homburg* and by Giselher Klebe with his two works *Figaro lässt sich scheiden* (Figaro gets a divorce) and *Jakobowsky und der Oberst* (Jakobowsky and the Colonel).

Foreign composers were also included in the repertoire. British composer Humphrey Searle had his *Hamlet* produced in Hamburg. The Swede Lars Johan Werle wrote *Die Reise* (The Trip) for the Hamburg State Opera. American composer Gunther Schuller wrote *The Visitation* and Joseph Tal, an Israeli, composed *Ashmedai*. Krzystof Penderecki, an exponent of the Polish school, wrote his first opera *The Devils of Loudon* for Hamburg State Opera. Liebermann commissioned two works from Ernst Krenek, one of the most militant composers of the twenties and thirties – *Der goldene Bock* (The Golden Ram) and *Sadekai*. He persuaded Gian-Carlo Menotti to write his children's opera *Help! Help! The Globolinks!* and Paul Burkhard to compose a Christmas fairy-tale entitled *Ein Stern geht auf aus Jakob* (A Star rises from Jacob).

He staged *Das Lächeln zum Fusse der Leiter* (The Smile at the Foot of the Ladder) by Antonio Bibalo, an Italian composer who was completely unknown internationally, as well as *Die Sintflut* (The Flood) by Igor Stravinsky, music's last universalist.

Marcel Marceau created a mimodrama called *Candide* for Hamburg State Opera and Mauricio Kagel, the most avantgarde representative of the avantgarde, was commissioned to write his *Staatstheater* (State Theatre).

Nicolas Schöffer produced his cybernetic, luminodynamic experiments at Hamburg under the title *Kyldex I* and Gottfried von Einem was allowed to fire a broadside against modern music in *Der Zerrissene*.

The other works commissioned by Liebermann are Alexander Goehr's *Arden muss sterben* (Arden must die), Milko Kelemen's *Belagerungszustand* (State of Siege) and, the final one on 10 May, Manfred Steffen's *Unter dem Milchwald* (Under Milkwood).

The range covered by the 22 works Liebermann has commissioned is broad enough to take the force from criticism that audiences in Hamburg have been deprived of important modern works such as Wolfgang Fortner's *Blood Wedding* (based on the play by Lorca) and Bernd Zimmermann's *Soldaten* (Soldiers).

Rolf Liebermann

(Photo: ...)

But the variety of subjects, forms and styles is no indication of the vitality of opera as a genre. It could more readily be interpreted as a sign of composers' collective insecurity.

It is no coincidence that nearly all composers base their works on established material such as works by Shakespeare and an anonymous Elizabethan playwright, by Voltaire, Kleist, Nestroy, Kafka, Werfel, Horvath, Henry Miller, Huxley, Dylan Thomas and Camus.

Stravinsky, Burkhard, Joseph Tal, Ernst Krenek dealt with mythical subjects and Krenek's *Sardakai* is no more and no less than a variation of Mozart's *Cosi fan tutte*.

Only Cramer wrote an original libretto for the Blacher opera while Mauricio Kagel and Nicolas Schöffer manage without a libretto and go beyond the idea of an opera as a musical drama.

This practice is revealing as it exposes the basic tension within the genre and even its basic contradiction. But it dates far back into history. It is nothing more than the permanent clash faced by composers from Monteverdi to Stravinsky and Berg with realistic plots on the one hand and unrealistic forms on the other.

It is the history of crises and reforms, of the difficult balancing act and the extremely rare reconciliation of the antagonism in the establishment, preservation and overhaul of binding conventions and in the supreme search for illusion. The two concepts of opera and illusion cannot be separated.

Falsely interpreting traditional opera as a fancy-dress concert is no less fatal than the belief that a realistic style would eliminate the illusory principles of the operatic genre.

These are two sides of one coin.

Rolf Liebermann demanded in 1962 that the principles of drama should also be made binding for opera. But his appeal was mainly directed against the slipshod directing involved in the stop-go principle which stood in the way of complete illusion.

The appeal did not solve the dilemma of contemporary opera production unless of course the whole genre was to become

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A scene from *Kyldex I* Liebermann's last production at Hamburg (Photo: Fritz Peyer)

■ ROUND THE ARTS

Munich presents festival of modern opera

You enter this paradise of miraculous daydreams through a revolving door. It takes you into a spherical theatre made of canvas which has been blown up by Walter Haupt, the tireless experimenter of Munich Staatsoper, in the Marstall (stables) the new studio of the Bavarian Staatstheater.

When you go in you are immediately sobered up. There is dim light, bare coldness just as was once experienced in air-raid shelters! The lower half of the sphere is a greyish colour with the places for the audience to sit. The sphere of material above is a fallow yellow, reaching up ten metres high with a diameter of thirteen metres. The audience member leans back and looks into this, making himself comfortable.

The rotating sounding box, which Zimmermann dreamt up, is not so far off, we can see, with an experiment such as this. *Sensus* is the title of this newly premiered Walter Haupt Staatsoper production. The production appeals to all the senses, even the sense of smell which was not taken into account by Nicolas Schöffer at his recent avantgarde production for Hamburg Staatsoper, *Kyldex I* (German Tribune No 569) – he had experimented with a so-called *Geruchsparaeter* during rehearsals, but this only produced a pungent stench.

As in everything else Walter Haupt approaches this more cautiously. Scents as of frankincense are emitted in controlled volumes.

Gentleness is a general rule in *Sensus*. The comfortably dribbling music is the first gentle thing about this opera. It is played in stereo over headphones. Angel choirs vocalise. There is a gentle booming, a rushing sound, hammering, electronic twittering, a few bits of *musique concrète*, imploring warnings from a paternal bass that one should breathe quietly and powerfully, in addition live surfaces of sound from the percussionist Insuk Lee, who now and again appears out of the darkness.

The delights for the eye are also gentle. The cupola of Heaven into which one looks is covered with constantly changing colours and configurations. There are cold threads of laser beams, the points of spotlights, photos, films and abstract diagrams. These are projected from the middle of the room or from slit windows at the side of the theatre.

They make for constant movement, providing satiated colours in constantly changing mixtures forming ever new grain effects and patterns – sometimes light, sometimes dark, sometimes two-dimensional, sometimes sculptured. There is always something being created, something fading.

Haupt's psychedelic Nirvana is not so far removed from Hamburg's *Kyldex* light-play. But there are fundamental differences. In Schöffer's case the creation was for the most part hectic. From the start Walter Haupt's *Sensus* is peace itself.

In the case of Schöffer's work the light effects were created away from the audience, leaving the public on the outside looking in. But in Munich the audience sits in the room where the light effects are being created.

Anyway Haupt is trying to achieve something quite different from Schöffer. His optical-acoustic environment, which only has one musician and one artist operating the technical equipment is aiming at the destruction of psychic repressions. It is almost a special kind of psychotherapeutic treatment.

Whereas theatre normally tries to induce tension in its audience this work is designed to remove tension. Haupt goes so far as to call his spherical theatre a "recreation centre", and this does not appear to be an excessively pretentious statement.

Whether Haupt has achieved what he hoped for is something that each audience member will have to decide for himself. One gives oneself over to the pictures and sounds in the cupola projection room, keeping to the hastening daily rhythm for an hour.

I found this gratifying. I found the hour of *Sensus* much too short. If I had been Croesus I would have bought Haupt and his cupola theatre, and set them up in my back garden for a daily hour of recreation.

But the gentleness of this evening in the Mastall was not to be repeated when the Staatsoper's week of contemporaries moved to the Nationaltheater. Mauricio Kagel's *Staatstheater* was the production, having been brought down from Hamburg.

The audience was filled with many young faces but the Munich premiere habitués were conspicuous by their absence. Compared with its first performance in Hamburg the Munich first night of *Staatstheater* went quite smoothly. There were scarcely any catcalls and interruptions.

One or two elderly gentlemen, who presumably thought they were treating themselves to an evening of vocal elegance from the Rolf Liebermann ensemble slipped quietly from the auditorium before the performance was very old.

Kagel has set out to be provocative with this work and it was clear he had succeeded at the end of the evening when a battle of clapping and booing broke out between those in favour and those who were not amused. Kagel won the day. His attempt to show the apparatus of an opera production with all the coverings removed, as a new, naked artistic enterprise, gained sway. And the more the performance slips into memory the more this is true.

As for the rest of the contemporary opera week Munich is producing various works ranging from *Wozzeck* to *Elizabeth Tudor*, but Zimmermann's *Soldaten*, the most progressive opera yet to be seen in the Bavarian capital, is missing from the programme.

This is a true reflection of the state of opera today.

Peter Dannenberg

(Die Welt, 13 March 1973)



Audience participating in the new experimental musical form in Munich

(Photo: Sabine Toepffer)

Kroetz' *Wunschkonzert* produced in Stuttgart

Stuttgart Kammertheater produced *Wunschkonzert* (Programme of requests) by 27-year-old Franz Xaver Kroetz from Munich, who has recently received the German Critics Prize, and a knowledgeable public came from far and near to see this recently composed work.

In this one-act work the only actress, an unimportant clerical worker aged about forty, does not speak a word. She comes home in the evening to her furnished room and demonstrates with a series of mechanical actions the emptiness and banality of her free evenings.

She does what she does every evening, takes off her clothes, smokes a cigarette, then another, washes up, does her smalls, gawks at the telly for a while, looks through the colour supplements, makes a meal, goes to the loo, does some embroidery, removes her make-up, pins up her hair and goes to bed.

She opens a book, but does not really read it. Then she reaches for the sleeping tablets. And then she has a new idea. She takes the dose, then another one. Nine or ten. The whole lot.

This unusual ending is compelling. For the whole action is filled with deadly monotony and pointlessness, even though the woman smiles once in a while, does a few dance steps and enjoys doing her embroidery.

What is deadly is the sterility of these ersatz activities, the regularity and lack of imagination involved, the programmed course of a free evening spent at home alone.

What is most deadly of all is the extraordinarily stupid and childish light music, programme pumped out by the radio – a tape borrowed from Südwestfunk – and the unexpressed sadness of this kind of existence. But the woman does not die. She did not have enough tablets left.

Kroetz handles the banal actions of his heroine, which become symptoms of her isolated life, with photographic accuracy, and the silent actions of the heroine in the end say more than words could. The miming reveals the dull inner monologue of this woman.

Istvan Bödy's directing also hits home thanks to his painstaking attention to details.

The great intensity with which Elke Twiesselmann carries off this ninety minute mime and keeps the tension alive show her to be an outstanding actress, capable of taking on such a difficult part with great credit.

Susanne Ulrici

(Lübecker Nachrichten, 13 March 1973)

Continued from page 10

a mere appendage of drama and its composers made the manufacturers of more or less impressive backgrounds of sound.

The connection between action and music remains the basis of opera even when composers are enthralled by the realistic force of their subject, refuse to surrender to illusion, yet find themselves unable to fall back on binding conventions.

This difficulty is revealed in almost all the works Liebermann commissioned. It is particularly striking in opera dealing with realistic political subjects such as racial conflict in the United States (Schuller's *Visitation*), Fascism in Germany (Tal's *Ashmedai*), mass hysteria (Penderecki's *Devils of Loudon*) or the dialectics of rule and rebellion (Kelemen's *State of Siege*).

Penderecki, a composer of undoubted ability, was so non-plussed by the excesses Huxley described in his book that he contented himself with illustrating the action and providing atmosphere.

The premiere of the *Devils of London* in Hamburg was a disappointment. The fact that the first performance in Stuttgart the day after was more successful is due more to the terrifying fascination of the story and Günther Rennert's radical direction.

Joseph Tal and Milko Kelemen on the other hand fell back on a restorative form – nineteenth-century Grand Opera. But as twelve-tone music proved an obstacle to the formation of consistent musical forms for the individual scenes (which Alban Berg however managed to produce in *Wozzeck*) music naturally degenerated into a mere background noise.

Joseph Tal takes a parable from the Talmud and deals with the problem of good and evil and the corruptibility of the masses. Evil appears in the form of the transcedent force of Ashmedai the devil, to whom the electronic passages are devoted; while his antagonist, the good king, is given the backing of the traditional orchestra. This fact alone demonstrates the descriptive character of the music.

"The middle road," Schönberg once said, "is the only one that does not lead to Rome." This claim reaches its climax in Boulez' theory that no opera worth the name has been composed since the Berg era and that the success of *Wozzeck* was at the same time the death-knell for opera as a whole.

It is no coincidence that two operas that have proved worthy of inclusion in the general repertoire – Henze's *Prinz von Homburg* and Klebe's *Jacobowsky und der Oberst* – seize upon the tradition of Berg's operas without imitating them.

Henze's opera was subsequently produced in Frankfurt, Düsseldorf, Graz and Strasbourg, Klebe's in Brunswick, Wuppertal, Mannheim and Stuttgart. Both operas have the advantage of relatively easy casting. Both have a clearly arranged operatic form which does not neglect contemporary musical standards.

So how do the shares of modern opera stand? Rolf Liebermann cannot be accused of wanting to let them fall. But the questions remain and the cause of the Liebermann-Boulez controversy has not been overcome. But Liebermann has gained victory as an individual even though he claims to have been director-general at Hamburg State Opera for long enough.

Hanjo Kesting

(Deutsche Zeitung, 16 March 1973)

■ HEALTH

Endocrinologists discuss sex hormones in Berlin

Contraceptive pills containing the female sex hormones oestrogen and gestagen have often been blamed for encouraging vascular disorders, if not actually causing them in the first place.

This argument is supported by the statistically-backed claim that women who take the pill regularly are more likely to suffer from thrombosis and embolies and die of a stroke or heart attack.

But these doubts about the pill could be without foundation or at least exaggerated. It could be that women who suffer vascular disorders while taking the hormone-based contraceptive pill would have contracted these symptoms sooner or later anyway. All the pill did was accelerate the process, causing the symptoms to appear earlier on in life.

The first signs of such a completely new connection between the contraceptive pill and vascular diseases were discovered in the endocrinological department of the Pitié Salpêtrière hospital in Paris. Professor J. L. de Genne, the French hormone researcher, attracted considerable attention when he lectured on his work to the nineteenth symposium of the Federal Republic's Endocrinological Association held in West Berlin's Congress Hall and attended by more than four hundred specialists from both home and abroad.

Professor de Genne put forward a sensational theory. Women who suffer from vascular diseases while taking contraceptive pills tend to have more fat in their blood and a higher level of fat in the blood is generally regarded in the medical world as a sign of increased susceptibility to complications of the heart or circulation.

But Professor de Genne investigated the blood fat levels of these women with vascular disorders before they began regular consumption of hormone-based contraceptive pills and found that in many cases they had always had a large amount of fat in their blood.

His belief that these vascular disorders attributed to the Pill mainly affected women who were liable to contract diseases of this type anyway was confirmed by the fact that nearly all patients admitted to his hospital with vascular disorders since 1966 after taking the Pill had parents with exactly the same symptoms, that is, too high a level of fat in the blood.

The susceptibility to vascular complications can be genetically-induced and determined. That means it can be inherited. It may otherwise be the result of a family's eating habits. Professor de Genne refuses to rule out either of these possibilities.

But one thing is clear. If his evidence is confirmed, it will only take a relatively simple method to pinpoint those women for whom hormone-based contraception would increase the danger of vascular damage.

Before a doctor prescribed the Pill for the first time, he could arrange a laboratory examination to test whether the fat level in their blood was normal or high.

Professor de Genne has adopted this course for some time now and always advises women with a high blood fat level not to take the Pill. So far he has been completely successful.

But the number of patients with whom he has dealt is relatively small, so far only 38 women who are on the Pill and have high blood fat levels and vascular disorders. Their average age is 32 and they have been taking the pill for an average of twenty months.

Professor de Genne's theory should now be tested on a larger group of patients. Professor Jürgen Hammerstein of the department of gynaecological endocrinology at Steglitz Clinic and other doctors at the congress stated they would at once include this subject in their research programme.

Most of the talks and discussions at the Berlin symposium centred on the way hormones controlled metabolism. Outsiders are always interested to know how they can shed a few pounds or keep their figure trim. Dr G. Haralambie, a colleague of sports doctor Professor Joseph Keul in Freiburg, was able to contribute some new scientific information on this point.

It has always been said that taking part in highly competitive sport is no way to slim as weight increases as soon as the athlete retires. Researchers at Freiburg now believe they know why.

Athletes eat more when under training as they also consume more. If they suddenly give up this intensive physical exercise one day, the organism needs less energy but metabolism still concentrates on deriving the maximum of value from the food intake and weight will increase.

Dr Haralambie demonstrated that this extremely undesirable side-effect of intensive physical training could be avoided. All that is required, he claims, is a gradual limitation on the intake of food, or preferably calories, during the athlete's period of sporting activity while his training programme is cut down until it comes to a complete stop.

This gradual reduction should be extended over a whole month so as to avoid an abrupt switch from intensive activity to complete leisure. This method is also the generally more healthy way of ending a sporting career, not just the way that helps a person retain his slim figure, Dr Haralambie claims.

Dieter Dietrich

(Der Tagesspiegel, 8 March 1973)

Good health depends on self-control

One person in two in the Fed… Republic wants to lead a healthy… and is convinced this is the case. B… despite this desire the majority … jeopardising their health. The Fede… Centre for Health Information has fou… that three quarters of the population … damaging their health through their … habits.

Self-control is the only successful w… of leading a healthy life. A sur… conducted by the Federal Centre on t… dangers of smoking and the proble… connected with giving up the habit fo… that the large number of miracle cu… and programmes on the market w… practically useless.

Smokers may have broken the h… after taking these cures or courses b… success is only temporary. The b… results are achieved with psycholog… methods or behavioural therapy.

The survey covered 354 persons … smoked at least twenty cigarettes a … The experiment was meant to show … degree of abstinence achieved imme… tely after treatment, six mon… afterwards and finally a year later.

Preliminary findings published e… months after the end of the main co… of treatment reveal that the method … self-restraint is the most successful. T… smoker must obey a number … regulations concerning his conduct … designed to interrupt his heavy consu… tion.

The smoker can consume as m… cigarettes as he wishes. He only ha… abide by the rules. In this way … gradually learns to overcome … dependence on tobacco.

One particular advantage of … method is that it is easy to employ … that treatment via a postal course or … mass media is possible.

Wolfgang Feck…

(Neue Hannoversche, 28 February 1…)

More funds needed for nutritional advice centres

The Nutrition Association's advice centre in Hamburg is open to the public for four hours twice a week to give tips to people who are bewildered by scientific terms such as calories and not sure of the best way to eat.

Hamburg, a city of almost two million inhabitants, has employed one nutritional adviser, a women, for the past fifteen years. During the last two years she has been helped by a colleague.

Throughout the whole of the Federal Republic there are only 25 nutritional advisers belonging to the Nutrition Association. Nutritional advice is the responsibility of the Federal states and some dispense with it altogether. Bavaria is one example.

The Federal states that agree with the Nutrition Association's view and see nutritional advice as a preventive health measure provide financial backing.

Hamburg is spending 79,000 Marks on the current year's work. That is not much for a city the size of Hamburg but the two advisers were able to make last year's budget of 57,000 Marks go a long way.

The organised 49 courses and 84 lectures at the health department, in nursing colleges, for parents, teachers, pupils, social workers and the staff of old folks homes.

They also covered the retail food trade, industrial fairs, women's associations, diabetic organisations and Hamburg's electricity power station. Even the fire brigade learned how to cook nutritious and non-fattening food for the hours they have to spend on stand-by.

Altogether, the two advisers provided information for more than two thousand people who turned up at their office. Over two thousand people made use of their dial-a-recipe service. They gave fifteen interviews to the press and over one hundred articles in the local press dealt with their work.

It is obvious that not everybody has been convinced of the need for such advice. The main reason is that the Nutritional Association has no money for advertising. It has no image and attracts negligible public interest.

Nutritional advice is growing in importance. More and more finished products are coming on to the market and the proportion of basic foodstuffs sold is dropping.

Unfortunately, anyone who wants is allowed to give nutritional advice and many people and organisations take advantage of this — health food shops, women's magazines, food firms and the writers of recipe books.

Not all their advice is correct. Ignorance and economic interests often prove detrimental to the consumer.

It is therefore all the more important that independent advice should be provided free of charge. Information must be given enabling housewives to make comparisons and plan their family's diet correctly.

But the inadequacies in the nutritional science sector can also be observed at Nutritional Association branches. Their advice is a combination of the most up-to-the-minute information and much that is out of date or undeveloped.

The dietary assistants trained at the Nutrition Association's Further Training Institute (some 120 of them work in hospitals as middlemen between patients, nurses, doctors and the canteen) regularly attend refresher courses.

Two or three courses are arranged every year. On top of this the Nutrition Association publishes regular information on the latest findings of international nutritional research.

Most of the questions the public ask are not concerned so much with details as with the basics — even though their inquiries may begin with questions such as whether honey or jam is healthier. Can health be impaired by an incorrect diet? How can heart attacks be avoided?

A relatively large number of young people want information. From the very first moment they set up house they wish to do everything correctly and not cook and eat with such little thought as their parents.

The general uncertainty concerning questions of food and drink can only be reduced in makeshift fashion. "If only we could make plans for a period of three years we could set a number of priorities," Dorette Fischer, Hamburg's first nutritional adviser states. "But that is not possible as our budget is reviewed every year."

"We also need more staff", she complains, "It would be best if they could be specialists in such varied spheres as advertising, sociology, medicine and public relations.

"The two of us can only take care of the most immediate work. We have to make our plans in between telephone conversations. Even if we devote our evenings to the work, we can only act as a stopgap instead of approaching the subject on a broad basis."

Sybil Gräfin Schönfeldt

(Die Zeit, 2 March 1973)

Wickert Institute investigates sleep

Civil servants sleep better than … self-employed, the Wickert Insti… of Tübingen found in a recent sur… commissioned by a group of firms … industrial associations.

The survey, covering two thous… people throughout the Federal Repu… revealed that nine per cent of c… servants complain of insomnia, compa… to eighteen per cent of the self-employed.

Asked how they slept, 52 per cent … the sample said they generally slept w… or very well. Ten per cent of males a… sixteen per cent of females complain … insomnia or inadequate sleep.

The Wickert Institute also fou… regional differences. People in the no… sleep better. Only nine per cent … inhabitants here sleep poorly compa… to sixteen per cent in Bavaria. The rea… is the depressing south wind that … sweeps Bavaria and frequent trips to … toilet at night after high beer consum… tion.

The survey found that no differen… resulted from whether people we… synthetic pyjamas, cotton pyjamas o… nothing at all. But persons resident in o… houses are more likely to complain of … insomnia that those living in new hous… or blocks or flats.

Twenty-two per cent of people sle… with their head facing south, compared … 26 per cent for the other three directio… But those facing south are most likely … sleep poorly. Fifteen per cent of the… admitted this, compared to twelve per … cent for those who sleep with their fe… pointing east, west or south.

(Münchner Merkur, 9 March 1973)

■ EDUCATION

Hohenheim agricultural college sets about reforming itself

One of the smallest universities in the Federal Republic — the former Agricultural College in Hohenheim near Stuttgart — has decided to introduce farreaching controls.

A team of chartered accountants will examine the administrative procedures, financial requirements and teaching standards right down to the smallest detail, the first time any scheme of this type has been introduced in this country.

Professor George Turner, the University's President, claims that the investigation should end the secrecy encountered at universities once and for all.

The aim of the twelve-month investigation which began last October is to provide a comprehensive plan of organisation which can later be used at other universities.

Explaining the purpose of the scheme in an interview with the Deutsche Presse-Agentur, this country's news agency, Turner stated that universities were not a mecca for spare-time scholars and must regain the credibility they have lost in the public eye.

The basis of this prototype investigation conducted by Wibera of Düsseldorf and supervised by the Accounts Departmend and a special commission appointed by the Baden-Württemberg Education and Finance Ministry is described as the objectice calculation of teachers' output.

Professors will be expected to teach for four to eight hours a week, lecturers ten to fourteen hours and assistant lecturers two to four hours, whereby the basic unit is a conventional-style lecture. Other types of instruction will not be valued so highly.

The professors object that it is nonsensical to fix a minimum number of hours to be spent on teaching as only the individual professor can gauge the correct ratio between teaching and research.

Professor Turner however disagrees. "Any professor opposing this calculation of capacities can only have something to hide," he comments.

"Superfluous" posts in the various departments are to be redistributed in a development plan. Turner believes that this internal redistribution is the prime purpose of university autonomy.

The teaching staff, especially the assistant lecturers, are not yet convinced about the efficiency of the Hohenheim scheme. They ask whether or not professors will be able to claim higher financial requirements than those actually existing.

A spokesman for the assistant lecturers claimed it would be better for actual requirements to be calculated by independent assessors, as happens where the Research Association is concerned.

He added that it was however remarkable for the problems arising from entry restrictions to be approached by means of a feasibility report.

(Neue Ruhr Zeitung, 7 March 1973)

Munich and Münster top universities popularity poll

Münster University, the third largest in the Federal Republic as far as student population is concerned, follows Munich in the popularity stakes, according to a survey conducted by the Federal Statistics Bureau in 1972.

As many as 4,400 school-leavers stated that Munich University was their first choice. Another 3,700 wanted to go to Münster. Hamburg was third with 3,250, followed by Cologne with 3,150, Berlin with 2,900, Bonn with 2,700 and Frankfurt with 2,600.

(Hannoversche Allgemeine, 9 March 1973)

Insufficient school psychologists, psychologist claims

No more than fifty or so cities in the Federal Republic cater for the flood of pupils and parents seeking psychological advice connected with education.

Anyone wanting his scientific or linguistic abilities tested must wait months for an interview with a school psychologist. So must those pupils who are seeking educational advice or suffering from behavioural disorders.

Psychologist Günter Kohl, head of the school psychology section within the Psychologists Association, claims that there is only one psychologist for every fifty thousand schoolchildren. Waiting lists of a year or more are commonplace.

In view of the fact that almost one child in five in this country has an impediment hindering his education and almost 35 per cent have difficulties in concentrating school psychologists face a task of absolutely insuperable proportions.

The highly-industrialised world, the satellite towns with no place for children, increases in the size of schools and mistakes on the part of both teachers and parents have helped form the nervous type of pupil who needs the advice of school psychologists.

Günter Kohl's studies reveal that the most common "mental" complaints among schoolchildren are general restlessness coupled with difficulties in concentration, aggressive behaviour, non-conformity, over-sensitivity and difficulties in making contact with other children.

Besides these childres there is a large group of failures who are made to repeat a year because of the undue emphasis placed on language, Kohl claims.

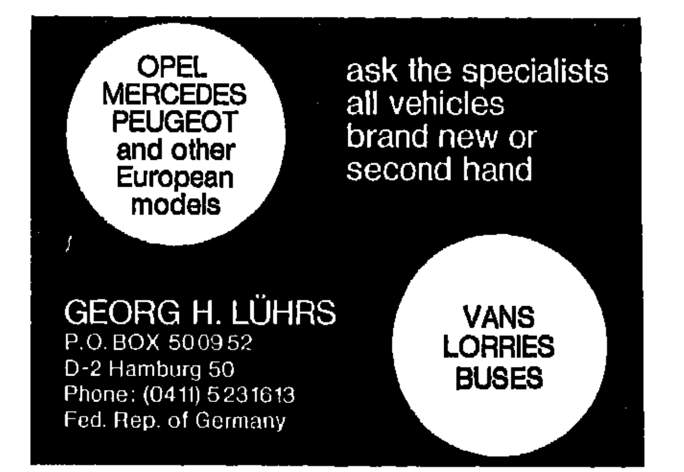
"These children are not stupid," he states. "Their performance in mathematics and other subjects may be excellent. The idea of equality of opportunity in education is pure theory as these boys and girls often come from working-class families where no help is forthcoming."

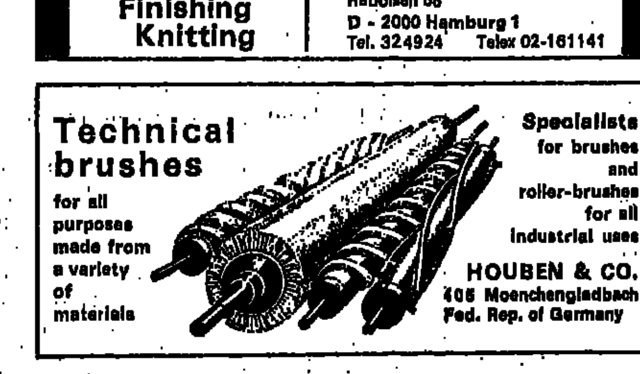
Kohl has suggested a solution to the current poor state of affairs: "More advice centres on both the regional and supra-regional level whose psychologists, social workers, medical specialists and remedial educationalists can also treat children at their place of work — that is in the schools."

UNESCO has demanded a ratio of two psychologists to every twelve to fifteen thousand schoolchildren. It seems as if the Federal Republic will have to wait some time before reaching this standard

Martin O. Schmuck

(Frankfurter Rundschau, 8 March 1973)









■ OUR WORLD

The detective's lot is not a happy one

DIE WELT

"For colleagues who are in financial difficulties," the central association of investigators and detectives will pick up the tab for the annual general meeting for 1973 that is to be held in the new luxury Loew's Hamburg Plaza hotel according to a recent circular.

Despite considerable advertising of detectives in the Federal Republic and a steep increase in business the profession is overcrowded. Only the central association and the Federal Republic Private Detectives Association are accredited in Bonn. The men who shadow for a living are themselves falling under a shadow.

The problem is that anyone can set himself or herself up as a detective by putting down the appropriate sum for the licence. Training need go no further than the instruction obtained from reading detective novels.

Die Recherche, the profession's publication warns forcibly "that any fraud, any idiot, any adventurer and latent criminal can set himself up as a detective in this country ... During the past ten years the profession has become regarded as disreputable and the lowest rung to which a person can go."

Helmut Dunze, a former Hamburg crime squad detective and head of the Federal Republic's Detective Association which has 150 members said: "We are a mixed lot. We have joined the Pro Honore association to show that we are a reputable organisation. Then one of our members in Hanover has been thrown out because his wife put advertisements in the paper stating that she was a photomodel. And we threw out an organisation that claimed to have a number of agents but they only existed on paper."

Dunze maintains that matters are not so well organised in the Federal Republic as in Austria, where the profession of detective enjoys advantages unique in Europe. The head of the detective's association is granted the title *Kommerzialrat* and is responsible for compiling a list of black sheep organisations.

The lack of licences creates in this country – there are 300 members in the two main official organisations, and they are only the tip of the iceberg – a disquietening situation.

A person looking for help and advice meets only a one-man show whose wordy advertisements hide the fact that his wife answers the telephone for him. Then there are organisations whose names change continually. There is "A Detective study group", "A Detectives union", "a Detectives professional association", and "A Detectives trade union" that is in no way associated with the Confederation of Federal Republic Trade Unions and a number of other smaller organisations.

Over the past ten years the application of regulations has become very lax and the monthly newssheet produced by the central assocation bears this out for at the beginning of the year a notice appeared to the effect that Josefine Gruber, owner of a detective agency in Munich had declared herself bankrupt. This is all the more surprising since the agency dealt with commercial crime.

Events such as these do not do the profession any good. On the other hand it was good for the profession's morale that Harry Howell who was responsible for solving the four-million-Mark theft in Düsseldorf was called in when a Hamburg security van was robbed.

In the regulations concerning private eyes in the Federal Republic drawn up by the central association "absolute honesty" is demanded and strong measures have to be applied.

Helmut Dunze: "We know that many detective agencies claim to have any number of agents that in fact do not exist. The agents are often just an excuse for collecting more money." A spokesman for the Aude Mercur International, Essen, said: "There is a lot of exaggeration goes on in this business."

With or without a lot of beating of the drum detectives make a lot of money in this country. Herr Dieckmann, head of the Aude Mercur agency said: "Top men can earn 10,000 to 12,000 Marks a month. Our detectives are used to being paid a success bonus – an eigth of money recovered. That comes to a tidy sum."

When bombastic advertisements such as "fleet of 20 aircraft" or "5,000 agents employed" don't work the detectives turn to other things. A Munich detective worked at a house agency and another worked part-time at a marriage bureau.

Many detectives provide no more information than what could be obtained for a few Marks by consulting the *Handbuch für den Weltverkehr und die direkte Auskunfterteilung* published by Regenhardt which gives information on firms in this country and abroad.

And to top it all an institute is now offering a training course for detectives, which, according to senior people in the central association the institute has no idea of what it is doing. There are professions that cannot be academically taught but which are acquired with experience.

Eberhard Nitschke

(Die Welt, 13 March 1973)



Crime detection aid

The Technical Department for Crime Investigation in Berlin is the first law enforcement agency to use the Siemens-developed portable X-ray image intensifier unit for the examination of suspect articles in the mails. The X-ray picture, transmitted by TV camera to a monitor, indicates the contents of parcels, as well as the type of charge or detonator which may be inside. In practice, the process is carried out somewhat differently than in this "posed" demonstration picture. The police specialist stands at a safe distance from the examination table; the monitor is behind a thick wall of reinforced concrete.

(Photo: Siemens)

Coins in the fountain

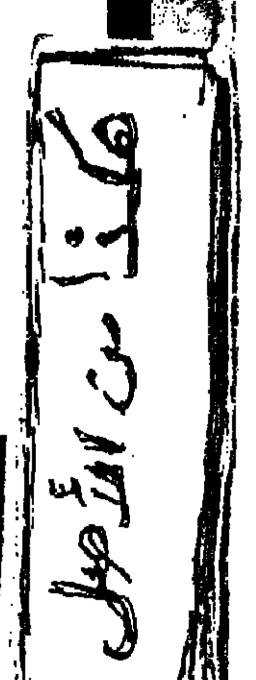
Animal lovers threw more than 90,000 Marks into a Frankfurt Zoo fountain last year, following the tradition associated with the Trevi Fountain in Rome, according to the Zoo authorities.

On average 35 Marks were thrown daily into the fountain which stands near the monkey cages in the Zoo, and on certain days when there are crowds of visitors the amount rises to more than 100 Marks.

The money is handed over to the campaign for the protection of the threatened animal world.

Just as at Trevi children and young people try to fish the money in the Frankfurt Zoo fountain out of the water but in most cases the keepers manage to thwart these attempts.

(Süddeutsche Zeitung, 13 March 1973)



NEWS IN BRIEF

Divorce attitudes

Without exception young peop... of the view that people shou... able to divorce, but as people grow ... they are less inclined to favour di... according to a survey conducted by ... Infas institute for applied sociolo... studies in Bonn.

The question of religion is not important in making this decision, ... whether a person practises a religion.

Nine per cent of the people in ... country were of the view that marr... was a matter of "until death do us p... A massive 83 per cent of people co... by the survey were of the view th... difficult cases divorce should be avai...

Eight per cent refused to answ... question.

(Frankfurter Rundschau, 27 February ...)

Civil servants

Officials in Bonn are finding ou... themselves what it is like fo... citizen to be the other side o... government counter in a governm... office. Under the guidance of ... "attitude instructor" officials learn w... it is like to be a member of the public.

Scenes are played out with a "citi... and an "official" so that they ca... what they are doing wrong.

By means of a camera the "citizen" ... the "official" can later discuss ... situation.

The first suggestion the att... instructor had to make in Bonn wa... aggressive attitudes should be kept ... minimum.

(Kieler Nachrichten, 14 March ...)

Fewer people

Population figures will show a de... of between 1.1 and 1.8 millio... 1985 according to the Federal Stat... Office in Wiesbaden. This estima... based on the possibility that the pres... decline of births will be slowed down.

If the relationship of births to death... 1972 (when the death statistic was grea... than the birth statistic) remains const... the population of the Federal Repub... will by 1985 be 60.4 million, showing ... decline of 1.1 million in comparison w... the 1972 total population figure.

If the declining birth rate is acceler... the population figure could decline by ... much as 1.8 million.

(Die Welt, 3 March 1...)

Phone service

Hamburg is the first city in ... Federal Republic to begin operat... a dial-for-tips-on-environmental-pro... tion service. Citizens who ring 2 50 07... will given advice on how to keep the ci... clean.

The service begins with giving advice o... how to save disposal fees and recom... mends that when shopping housewive... forego unnecessary wrapping paper an... packaging.

The service also gives advice on spot... cleaning, car cleaning and what to do a... picnic with the rubbish.

The service is the brain child of ... citizens committee on keeping ... countryside clean. It is hoped tha... donations will provide enough cash to ... the service.

(Frankfurter Allgemeine Zeitung für Deutschland, 14 March 197...)

■ SPORT

Jupp Schlaf – Mr Table Tennis

Frankfurter Neue Presse

Jupp Schlaf stands five feet ten in his stockinged feet and weighs 257 pounds, yet the centre of his world is a celluloid ball an inch and a half in diameter and weighing a tenth of an ounce.

Since Munich Willi Daume has been known as Mr Olympics. By a similar token Jupp Schlaf deserves the epithet Mr Table Tennis.

Table tennis has been his main interest since 1946, when he set up the table tennis information centre in his home town of Essen (sports associations were at that time still prohibited).

In the meantime he has graduated from the position of manager to that of general secretary of the Federal Republic Table Tennis Asociation, president of the European Table Tennis Union and vice-president of the international federation.

The name Jupp Schlaf is so intimately associated with table tennis in this country that his many friends are not in the least surprised to learn that part of his six-room flat in the Frankfurt suburb of Sachsenhausen is the head office of the Table Tennis Association.

In three of the six rooms Jupp Schlaf and three associates not only coordinate the activities of 367,000 players belonging to clubs affiliated to the association but also maintain contacts with the four corners of the globe.

Red- and white-headed pins on a wall map of the world indicate, for instance, the places Schlaf has visited in the interests of his sport. The only continent he has yet to visit is Australia. Otherwise, from Tokyo to Los Angeles and from Stockholm to Capetown: Schlaf has been there.

Since 1956 Jupp Schlaf has been in the Soviet Union alone no fewer than ten times, and he knows his way around Moscow, Leningrad and Kiev as well as he does Frankfurt. He is most envied for the two visits he has paid China, in 1961 and 1972, though.

Schlaf smiles as he carefully rearranges his avoirdupois behind his office desk. "You can't come straight to the matter in hand. There must first be a dozen minor topics and half a dozen slowly-drunk cups of tea before you slowly progress to the main issue. And if you don't manage to get down to brass tacks in the course of an hour, well you are just going to have to stick to your guns for another two or three. That's the only way to go about it."

He should know. The initial contacts leading up to his first visit were made at the 1959 world championships in Dortmund, which he organised as general secretary of the host country's association, paying particular attention to visitors from the Far East.

Two years later he was invited to visit Peking the first time. A second invitation arrived after the cultural revolution and only recently Jupp Schlaf was invited to the Chinese embassy in Bonn to discuss further details.

His wife Hanne, who comes from Lubeck, suffered from polio as a girl and was advised by her doctor to take up sport as a therapy. She first hobbled around playing handball but soon discovered that table tennis was her true sporting vocation.

She is still unequalled with her record of 93 caps for a woman table tennis player, and since 1960 she has coached the women's national team.

You would expect Schlaf's office to be littered with souvenirs, but he is not a man to collect countless mementoes. "Over there on the wall there is a Japanese sword and under it a Thai one, and there are a couple of masks opposite. "But most of what I bring back I give away," Jupp Schlaf says. "I bought myself a Mao Tse-tung tunic in China to wear at a carnival party."

The table tennis globetrotter provides this information with equanimity. He is not easily taken out of his stride, and this is doubtless a great advantage for a man who, incidentally, started out as a football player.

He played for the first team of Schwarz-Weiss Essen and, like his father before him, was also interested in politics. In 1946 he was elected to Essen city council along with Gustav Heinemann, who is now the country's President.

The he was confronted with the need to decide whether to go in for politics or sport and he decided in favour of sport. He has not done badly. "I have been lucky enough to be able to combine work and play," Schlaf says.

After having been confronted with his present weight of nearly two and a half hundredweight it is hard to visualise Jupp Schlaf as he must have been in 1945 when he returned home from the war and imprisonment as a PoW.

The weighed a mere 103 pounds and a fair amount of time elapsed before he recovered from his five wounds as a tank gunner and with the Luftwaffe. His first job was with Essen sports association, maybe on the strength of a political recommendation but quite conceivably because his sister owned a typewriter and office machiney was at a premium.

In view of his organisational talent he soon graduated from the post of typist to that of manager, and as his association had to re-establish sporting contacts that had at first been prohibited out of hand by the Allies, he had his work cut out.



Jupp Schlaf
(Photo: Sven Simon)

The move to table tennis was not an outright change, though. In 1924 as a fifteen-year-old he had been a founder-member of a local club and he later became press secretary of his table tennis district and region.

As a player he by no means equalled the performance of his future wife but he does have a cap or two to his credit and to this day he occasionally lends a hand as a member of his own club's second team, "but only as a last resort," he adds.

Jupp Schlaf owes table tennis a great deal and he is only too happy to step across from his living-room to the head office, but he is looking forward to the building of an office block for sports associations alongside the headquarters of the Federal Republic Sports League.

"The telephone deprives me of what is left of my private life," he explains, "and 24 hours of table tennis a day is too much for anyone, including me."

Herbert Hoffmann

(Frankfurter Neue Presse, 17 March 1973)

Interest in volleyball continues to grow

According to a survey conducted by ARD and ZDF, this country's two TV channels, one of the winners of the Munich Olympics has, in terms of growing viewer interest, been volleyball.

Viewer interest polls conducted prior to and during the Olympics revealed that interest in volleyball increased by 76 per cent in the course of the Games.

Before Munich 21 per cent of the sample claimed to enjoy watching volleyball on TV. After the Olympics this figure had increased to 37 per cent.

In Munich players from Leipzig and Tokyo, Kiev and Sofia were mainly responsible for boosting interest in the game. The home team came last but one in a field of twelve. Its performance is unlikely to have set the world of armchair viewing on fire.

This country fared so badly that behind-the-scenes arguments arose in Munich itself. The national team did not take to arms until some months afterwards.

Two Hamburg volleyball players, Klaus Meetz, with more than 115 caps to his credit, and Rüdiger Hild, were the principal critics of former Federal trainer Manfred Kindermann of Münster.

"We have nothing personal against him," they claimed, "but the fact remains that the team tactics he employed in Munich were wrong and that the disciplinary measures to which he resorted were also a mistake."

Teacher Kindermann, who is now once more a mere player with the national champion USC Münster, considered his appointment to be no more than a stopgap solution im any case.

"When Kato of Japan left this country for Peru at the beginning of last year the volleyball association was caught napping," Kindermann says. "Had I not agreed to take on the post of coach for a transitional period this country would not have been represented in Munich at all."

The association tried to gain the services of Aurel Dragan of Rumania, the Pelé of international volleyball, but the Rumanians, currently in the process of regrouping their own team, felt unable to dispense with the services of the world's best tactician as their own national coach.

In his place Michael Gregori, an erstwhile Rumanian international of German extraction, was signed on. Thirty-five-year-old mechanical engineer Gregori was capped more than 150 times for Rumania during the past decade and three times in succession won the European Cup with Rapid Bucharest.

Gregori was not interested in full-time Federal Republic nationality. He made headlines as a Federal league player for OSC Höchst of Frankfurt and, as player-cum-trainer he took Eintracht Frankfurt into the Federal league.

Gregori was not interested in full-time employment as Federal trainer, though. This, he said, was not the custom in either Rumania, Poland or Czechoslovakia.

He hopes to improve standards by concentrating talent. "There are five first-rate clubs in the game," he comments. "They ought to be sufficient to provide player material for the national team, particularly as we are fortunate in having such excellent trainers as Pfletschinger, Kindermann, Blume and Mozr."

The interest aroused by the Olympic tournament has led to a volleyball boom. Optimistic officials reckon that there will soon be 70,000 players on the association's books.

The volleyball association's affiliate

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membership has gone from strength to strength. On 1 January 1973 its membership total of 46,036 represented an increase of 90.8 per cent on the figure of twelve months previously. This growth rate is unequalled by any other discipline.

A damper is placed on the discipline's hopes by the problem of non-existent facilities, though. Darmstadt, for instance, a well-known club, will have to dissolve its 300-strong volleyball section at the end of the current season for lack of gyms in which the game can be played.

In Hamburg too facilities have long since been filled to overflowing and new clubs continue to be set up at a rate of knots. In the aftermath of the Munich Olympics the number of sports clubs with volleyball sections in Hamburg increased from thirty to fifty.

Clubs are not alone in deriving an ultimate advantage from this increase in interest, either. Schools are also showing more interest in volleyball and in refresher courses for games masters volleyball coaching is being taught.

Volleyball officials are confronted with two major tasks. They must boost their activities among the mass of the sporting public while at the same time giving the national team a shot in the arm.

A number of techniques exist in international volleyball that are considered to be of fundamental importance; consists of a combination of precision, timing and high passes.

The Soviet technique combines punch, fitness and intelligence, the Czech concentrates on individual talent and the Japanese bears witness to a preference for speed and surprise.

Players in this country cannot, however, be expected to adopt one of these varied techniques hook, line and sinker.

"In terms of technique and fitness the best players in this country are not much worse than those elsewhere," the new Federal trainer Michael Gregori says. "All we must now do is find a technique that is best suited to the German mentality."

Klaus Blume

(Welt am Sonntag, 18 March 1973)